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ABSTRACT

This is the report of a large-scale longitudinal study that followed 2 classes of students enrolled at the University of Michigan through the 4 years of their college career. The broad objective of the study was to investigate the conditions and university experiences associated with varying outcomes of the students' 4 years in college. Part one of the report discusses a set of analyses relating to student criticism and protest. The second part has a more general and theoretical focus. It presents the theoretical perspectives that guided this study's approach to student friendships and organizations and the socializing roles they play within a university, and some of the analyses derived from these perspectives. The third and final part is concerned with analyses of factors related to career choice. In addition to the findings presented in the main body of this report, other analyses of the data were carried out in a number of doctoral dissertations in sociology, social psychology, and education. The orientations and major findings from these dissertations are summarized in Appendix A. (Author/HS)

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Final Report

Project No. 5-0901
Contract No. OE-6-10-034

A STUDY OF STUDENTS IN A MULTIVERSITY

August, 1971

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A STUDY OF STUDENTS IN A MULTIVERSITY

by

Gerald Gurin

Survey Research Center
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

August 1971

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We also wish particularly to thank Drs. Elizabeth M. Douvan, Kenneth Feldman, Patricia Gurin, Robert L. Kahn and John O'Connor, who were associated with the project in its early years, and contributed a great deal to the conceptualizations and data-gathering instruments of the early stages of this longitudinal study.

Many of the analyses of the data of the study were conducted for doctoral dissertations at the University of Michigan. These are listed in Appendix A of this report. For their contribution to this report, we wish particularly to thank Jeylan Mortimer and Sandra Tangri who present the major findings from their dissertations in Chapters VII and VIII, and John O'Connor whose dissertation analyses form the basis for Chapter V. We also wish to thank Steve Zarit whose undergraduate Honors dissertation contributed greatly to Chapter IV.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

This is the report of a large-scale longitudinal study that followed two cohorts of students enrolled at the University of Michigan through the four years of their college career. The study spanned the years from 1962 to 1967, a period when students' interests and demands were brought strikingly to the attention of people in universities and the community at large. The broad overall objective of the study was to investigate the conditions and university experiences associated with varying outcomes of the students' four years in college--outcomes that are presumably significant both as aspects of maturing and as consequences of influences experienced in the university.

There is a voluminous research literature on the impact of college on students.[1] However, the vast majority of these studies have been mainly a documentation of freshman-senior differences in limited attitudinal and value areas. With a few exceptions, it is only within the past decade that research has moved from the mere demonstration of freshman-senior differences, to systematic attempts to analyze and relate these differences and changes to different aspects of the college experience.[2] Two types of studies have had this analytic purpose. One has focused on overall characteristics of the institution, and related these to institution-wide student characteristics and impacts--for example, the work of Astin and Pace and Stern (Astin, 1963, 1970; Astin and Panos, 1969; Pace and Stern, 1958; Pace, 1969; Stern, 1970). This approach, particularly in Astin's studies, has meant extensive multi-institutional designs. The second approach has involved studies that have focused intensively on one or a limited number of institutions. Their narrower focus has enabled these studies to provide a more detailed and intensive analysis of the process by which influence is exerted in a college setting. Examples of such research in the 1960's are studies of Berkeley and Stanford (Katz, 1968), Harvard (King, 1967; Vreeland and Bidwell, 1965, 1966) and the eight-college study conducted by the Berkeley Center for the Study of Higher Education.

Studies that have followed this latter orientation have been concerned with broad issues of student values and personal development, rather than exclusively intellectual and cognitive outcomes. Concomitant with this broader definition of student outcomes, this research has seen strictly curricular and academic experiences as only one aspect (often not the most important one) of the significant influence processes that occur in college. They have approached the study of college impact from a broad socialization perspective, emphasizing informal as well as formal influence processes, particularly those deriving from or mediated through students' friendship and peer involvements.

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[1] For an excellent and definitive review and integration of this literature, see Feldman and Newcomb (1969).

[2] Notable exceptions are Newcomb's pioneering Bennington Study in the thirties (Newcomb, 1943) and the Vassar Study in the fifties by Sanford and his associates.

The present study falls within this tradition of intensive investigating of college impact. Its relationship to other studies in this tradition, and some of the special contributions it has hoped to make, are spelled out somewhat more fully in Part Two of this report.

It is interesting that in the vast literature on the relationships between students and institutions of higher learning, all but a handful have focused on the influence of the institutions on the students--the impact of college on students, not of students on college. This is not surprising. As educators it is natural for us to delineate certain types of student outcomes as our educational objectives, and to attempt to understand the experiences and processes in our colleges and universities that facilitate or hinder these outcomes. And, for those of us who have approached the study of students from a more general social science perspective, the focus on impact on students is consistent with our theoretical and empirical tradition. Theory and research in the area of personality and social structure have predominantly viewed the interrelationships from a socialization perspective--the influence of social institutions on individuals rather than the impact of individuals on the institution.

This orientation, which seemed appropriate when this study was planned in the early 1960's became obviously one-sided as the study progressed, and the distinguishing feature of the decade became the eruption of student protests, and the demands by the students for institutional change. While students' criticisms and protests occurred in all types of institutions, they were particularly pointed in elite multiversities like the one that was the subject of this study. Therefore, in addition to our more traditional interest in analyzing student outcomes and change, as the study developed we also focused on some of the expressions of student protest, and the features of their university experience that seem to be evoking this protest. These issues will be particularly relevant in Part One of this report.

Design of the Study

The major focus of this investigation was a longitudinal study of all of the students from two classes enrolled in the College of Literature, Science and the Arts at the University of Michigan--the classes entering the College in 1962 and 1963. The design of the study involved measuring these students in a sequence of questionnaires and interviews, from the point of entering the University during the freshman orientation week, to the second semester of their senior year.[3] There were approximately 2,250 students in each entering class. All of these students were given a two-hour questionnaire battery during freshman orientation week. The major reason for attempting to obtain 100 per cent response at this stage was to be assured of initial data concerning every student included in special samples.

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[3] The present report is concerned with those students who remained at the University. A separate report was done of the dropouts (Gurin, Newcomb and Cope, 1968).

From this total population of approximately 4,500 students, the following samples were drawn:

Questionnaire Sample: In each of the two classes, questionnaires were administered to approximately 450 students (half men and half women) in the second semester of their freshmen year. In each of the two class years, this sample constituted all of the freshmen in a number of residential houses (eight houses in 1962 and eleven houses in 1963) to which students had been assigned according to standard University procedures.[4] Additional questionnaires were given to all of these students still at the University in their senior years. Thus, the basic questionnaire sample consists of approximately 900 students measured at three points in time: the beginning and end of the freshman year, and the end of the senior year.

To get some further intervening experience data, the students from the 1962 class were also given questionnaires at the end of their sophomore year. In addition, senior questionnaires were given to 300 students from the 1963 class (150 men and 150 women randomly selected from the total population on whom we obtained entrance data during freshman orientation week). These additional senior questionnaires served the purpose of increasing the size of the sample on whom both entrance and senior data were available, and to compensate for the attrition of the sample due to dropout.

Interview Sample: In each of the two classes comprising our total population, intensive interviews (as well as the same questionnaires as were given to the questionnaire sample) were administered to approximately 200 students (100 men and 100 women) in the second semester of their freshman year. In each class 150 of these 200 students were chosen randomly; the remaining 50 were chosen on the basis of entrance characteristics that we felt would be predictive of involvement in a diversity of student groups and subcultures. All of these students still at the University were also given interviews (and questionnaires) in the second semester of their senior year.

Thus, the basic interview sample parallels the questionnaire sample, with the administration of instruments at the same three points in time: the beginning and end of the freshman year, and the end of the senior year. Further paralleling the design for the questionnaire sample, the students from the interview sample in the 1962 class were also interviewed at the end of their sophomore year. In addition, a random selection of students was added to the sample each of the two senior years, to compensate for dropouts and to increase the interview sample of seniors to 200 in each class. While there were no previous interviews on these students added to the senior interview sample, all had provided entrance data on the freshman orientation questionnaires.

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[4] Students were chosen in this way because of our interest in studying friendship patterns. A large proportion of the important freshman friendships are formed among students in the same dormitory.

The data obtained from the interview and questionnaire samples were relevant to the same set of study objectives and hypotheses. The major purpose of the interviews was to obtain more intensive information relevant to the issues explored in the questionnaire, particularly in the areas of friendship and subcultural involvements. Since the students interviewed completed the same questionnaires that were filled out by the students in the questionnaire sample, most of the quantitative analyses in the study have combined the interview and questionnaire samples, as well as the samples from the two class years.

Response rates varied for the different questionnaire and interview administrations. As expected, the highest response rate (95%) was obtained on the questionnaires administered during freshman orientation week. The lowest was the 78% response rate obtained on the senior questionnaires.[5]

In addition to this longitudinal study of the two classes of literary college students, two supplementary studies permitted a more intensive investigation of friendship patterns and peer group involvements at the University.[6] The friendship study involved interviewing the five best friends identified by a sub-sample of 75 students from the total interview sample of 400 described above; these friends were interviewed in both 1964 and 1966. The investigation of peer groups involved a study of the total membership of 29 student organizations in 1966. These two studies, and their relationship to the basic longitudinal study, are described more fully in Part Two of this report.

The questionnaires and interviews were designed to tap students' personal characteristics, values, interests and commitments (both as predispositional characteristics as entering freshmen, and as senior outcomes) as well as many aspects of their college experience. Many of the questions were specifically designed for this study; others were taken from instruments utilized in other large-scale longitudinal studies that were already underway when the present study began, particularly the Harvard Student Study, and the study of eight colleges conducted by the Berkeley Center for the Study of Higher Education. A copy of the questionnaire administered to the seniors appears in Appendix B.[7]

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[5] Given the fact that questionnaires were voluntary and took approximately three hours to complete, and that seniors are more resistent to cooperating with surveys than freshmen, the 78% response rate was as high as expected. Because of anticipated difficulties in obtaining responses from the seniors, five dollars was given to each senior who completed the questionnaire. It is interesting that response rates for the interviews tended to be higher than for the questionnaires, although they also involved several hours of time. Interviews were obtained from 86% of the senior interview sample.

[6] Both of these supplementary studies exceeded their anticipated scope; additional support was obtained from grants from the National Institute of Mental Health and the National Science Foundation.

Given the vast amount of data and the fact that the study did not emphasize one particular student outcome or type of college experience, the analysis of the data did not follow one general over-all plan. Rather, our approach to the data has been to delineate a number of separate self-contained problems and analyses. Some have been primarily problem-oriented, looking to the data for illumination on some of the critical issues facing universities in the 1960's; others have been more concerned with placing the data-analysis within a framework of general theoretical relevance; others have had a more methodological concern. Analyses have focused on different aspects of the longitudinal design--some highlighting relationships between predispositions and experiences to outcomes and change. Despite their separateness, however, all these analyses are related to each other in the very general sense that they take a broad "developmental" approach to the student characteristics they are studying (as predispositions and outcomes) and that they view the critical college experiences from a social psychological and sociological socialization perspective.

Outline of the Report

This report presents the findings from a number of the major analyses of the study data. It is divided into three parts. Part One (Chapters II, III and IV) discusses a set of analyses relating to student criticism and protest. Chapter II presents an analysis of the personal characteristics and college experiences of students who question the educational experience they received at this multiversity. Chapter III presents a parallel analysis of students involved in a student activist protest. The major purpose of Chapters II and III is to analyze the common elements and the differences in the political and educational criticisms of the university, and the implications these may have for the long-range impact on colleges and universities of the student protests of the 1960's. Chapter IV presents some further analyses of student activism, attempting particularly to sharpen our understanding of activism and its implications by separating out the factors that make for activism and protest over and above a general ideological commitment to political liberalism.

Part Two of this report (Chapters V and VI) has a more general and theoretical focus. It presents the theoretical perspectives that guided this study's approach to student friendships and organizations and the socializing roles they play within a university, and some of the analyses derived from these perspectives.

Part Three (Chapters VII and VIII) is concerned with analyses of factors related to career choice. The career commitment is not only a critical "outcome" variable in a study of college students; it is also a striking example of an outcome that is influenced by the interaction of personal dispositions and college experiences, and thus particularly appropriate for analysis within the general framework of this study. Given the very different meaning of vocational choice for men and women in our society, we have seen the critical issues and problems in this area as particularly sex-related, and present very different and separate analyses in the two chapters of Part Three--Chapter 7 for men, and Chapter 8 for women.

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[7] Parts I and III of the questionnaire in Appendix B were also given to the seniors in the interview sample. Constraints of space did not permit the inclusion of all the instruments utilized in the study. The senior questionnaire covers the main issues and concepts of concern in the study, except for those in the study of student organizations, which are present in Chapter VI.

Chapter 9 presents a summary and some implications of the study findings.

In addition to the findings presented in the main body of this report, other analyses of the data were carried out in a number of doctoral dissertations in sociology, social psychology, and education at the University of Michigan. The orientations and major findings from these dissertations are summarized in Appendix A.

PART ONE

EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL STUDENT PROTEST

The student protests that erupted in the 1960's represented a multifaceted criticism of colleges and universities. Some of these criticisms focused on limitations in the educational experience and environment provided in these institutions--the irrelevance of course requirements, the impersonality, the neglect of undergraduate teaching, the focus on cognitive learning and the separation of intellectual from affective and "developmental" student concerns. Other criticisms were primarily political in nature, focusing mainly on the university as a representative of the broader society, calling for changes in some of the relationships of the university to the society, and, within the university structure, for a change in the power arrangements to provide students with more autonomy and control.

Most of the discussions of the meaning and implications of student activism have not systematically distinguished these two strands of protest. It has often been assumed that the political protest--which has most often led to the confrontations and disruptions that attract attention and postmortem comment--subsumes a criticism of the educational environment as well as the political relationships and power arrangements in the university. But even when this assumption has not been made and the two types of protest have been viewed as representing distinguishable critiques, the nature and implications of the distinction have not been analyzed systematically or subjected to empirical investigation. The main purpose of Chapters II and III in this section is to provide such a systematic, empirical comparison. Chapter II presents a detailed analysis of some of the personal and value orientations and reactions to the college experience that underlie the desire for an educational alternative to the multiversity; Chapter III presents a parallel comparative analysis of the value and experiential correlates of involvement in a more politically oriented student protest.

We have been concerned with explicating this distinction in this study, because we feel it has implications for any attempt to understand the potential long-range implications of student protest for educational change in the university. The student activism that has led to the disruptions and confrontations has usually revolved around social and political issues, exacerbated by the war in Southeast Asia. The issue of whether this protest will also provide a continual stimulus for educational change depends to some extent on whether the political and educational protests spring from a common set of value orientations and criticisms of the college environment.[1]

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[1] This distinction in the educational setting is related to the more general distinction that commentators on the youth scene have drawn between "cultural" and "radical" societal protests. Earlier views such as Keniston's (1967) stressed the distinctiveness in the two forms of protest. More recently, (cf Reich, 1970) the focus has been on their common core. Here too the issue has relevance for the implications of protest for long-range societal and institutional change.

One other issue has been neglected in the voluminous research and comments on student activism. The factors that underlie the commitment to activism have not been distinguished from those related more generally to a politically liberal ideology. A full understanding of the special meaning of the protest of the 1960's requires some understanding of the factors and issues that transform an ideological leaning to a commitment to active protest. Chapter IV will present the findings from two analyses relevant to this issue.

One limitation of the following analyses should be pointed out. They focus on the protest expressions of a predominantly white middle class population at an academically elite state university. They do not bear directly on the criticisms and protests of Black students, who started the student protest movement in the predominantly Black colleges in the early 1960's; and present a special set of demands in predominantly white universities today. A study of Black students at the University of Michigan that utilized many of the questions from the instruments of the present study, is reported elsewhere (Fenstemacher, 1971).

CHAPTER II

Educational Critique of the Multiversity

Many of the criticisms of the educational experiences provided by colleges and universities are directed to all types of institutions of higher education, not just those of massive size and complexity. But these criticisms tend to be aggravated in the multiversity, in reactions against its supposed impersonality and priority given to research and graduate programs at the expense of undergraduate teaching.

One of the attempts to respond to some of these criticisms has been the creation of semi-autonomous smaller colleges within the broader institutional setting of the multiversity. Such a unit--the "Residential College"--was established at the University of Michigan, the first class entering as freshmen in the fall of 1967. At the time the seniors in our two cohorts were administered interviews and questionnaires in the spring of 1966 and 1967, the Residential College had not yet opened its doors. It had, however, been the subject of a good deal of public discussion and debate within the University community. In our senior questionnaires, therefore, we included a series of questions about the Residential College. Seniors were asked whether they had heard anything about it, what they felt its purpose was, whether they would want to go to the Residential College if they were starting again as a freshman at Michigan, and the reasons they would or would not want to go.

Educational innovations like the Residential College--with their stress on more personalized relationships, the integration of social and intellectual experiences, the promise of more meaningful relationships with faculty and a more individualized learning experience--are specifically designed as educational alternatives to mitigate the major limitations of the multiversity educational experience. The stance that a student takes with respect to the Residential College, then, may be taken as epitomizing his feelings about this issue. In the analysis to be described in this chapter, we have therefore chosen the response to the question on the Residential College--specifically whether the student would or would not choose to enroll in such a college--as our measure of the students' satisfaction with or criticism of the educational experience provided in the multiversity. This chapter will be concerned with an analysis of the factors related to these attitudes toward the Residential College, as a means of illuminating the nature and implications of the critique represented in the rejection of the multiversity experience, and the desire for educational alternatives like the Residential College.

Before proceeding to this analysis, it is of interest to note how our total sample of students responded to the question about the Residential College. First of all, as expected, a large number of students--33 percent--had never heard of the Residential College. Among the 67 percent who had heard of it, 33 percent said that they would not be interested in such an experience if they were starting college again, 19 percent were not sure how they felt and only 15 percent clearly felt that they would be interested in enrolling. Since the students answering this question were seniors who had chosen to go to a multiversity and had remained in it for the four year period, it should perhaps not be surprising that only a small minority felt that they would have preferred a smaller, more personal college experience. As one student simply and directly commented, "if I had wanted to go to a small college, I would have gone to a small college." But it is important, nonetheless, to underscore the fact that only a small minority of the students who go through four years at a multiversity, feel at the end that they would have preferred a more intimate and personalized college experience. We tend to focus so much on the evils and disadvantages of the multiversity, that we sometimes forget the many advantages it offers, that indeed certain aspects of it that are decried by some people are actually seen as advantages by others. There are advantages as well as disadvantages in the anonymity of the large multiversity setting. Some students prefer an environment that permits them to feel unconfined by a small group of friends, that enhances the possibilities for picking and choosing friends on the basis of interests rather than propinquity, that allows one to "be alone" when one wishes to be. In the presentation in this chapter, therefore, where we will be involved in exploring the correlates of this kind of critique of the multiversity, it will be important to keep in mind that we are talking of something that is not a universal complaint, and where there are meaningful arguments on both sides of the issue.

Factors Related to Attitudes Toward the Residential College

We have organized the analysis of factors related to attitudes toward the Residential College into two broad groupings that might roughly be termed "personal characteristics" and "reactions to the college experience." Under personal characteristics we include such factors as the student's basic orientations toward college (his goals for college, the kinds of things he hopes to get from the experience), some of his more generalized values and interests, his personality characteristics and concerns, and some of his family relationships. Under reactions to the college experience, we include such issues as his general satisfaction with college, his feelings about the impact that college has had on him, his reactions to faculty and his course experiences, his social and extracurricular experiences, and his reactions to issues like impersonality and student control that have been prominent sources of criticism of the multiversity. In a sense we are asking two broad sets of questions: 1) What kinds of people are attracted to educational innovations like the residential college; what values, personality concerns and orientations toward college are reflected in a preference for this kind of educational experience? 2) What kinds of reactions to the university experience are particularly relevant to this preference; what negative aspects of the multiversity is it particularly a reaction against?

We wish to stress particularly the importance of the second set of analyses, those which relate attitudes toward the Residential College to criticisms of particular aspects of the college experience. While the commentators on student protest have speculated about the nature of the criticisms that students are making of universities as educational and social-political institutions, the research on protest has focused almost exclusively on the nature of the students making the protests. While these analyses do have significance, since the meaning of protest can be amplified by understanding the kinds of people making the protest, such an exclusive emphasis can be somewhat misdirected. This has been particularly true in the research on student political activism, which has focused on the meaning of the protest in terms of the activists' family background and relationships with parents. There has been strikingly little research relating student protests--educational or political--to the students' reactions to specific aspects of his college experience. In stressing such analyses as well as those relating protest to personal characteristics, we hope to keep foremost the implications of protest for highlighting some of the problems and limitations of our universities.

Personal Characteristics

Orientations Toward College

Among the individual characteristics that should distinguish those students who are critical of the multiversity experience from those who are more likely to be satisfied with it, those which define the students' basic orientations toward the college experience should be particularly important. Individual students differ greatly in the goals they have for college, and these goals tend to define the basic orientations that determine their paths through the four year experience and their reactions to it.

These underlying orientations toward the college experience were measured in a number of questions in the study. One of these was based on the well-known "student subculture" typology of Clark and Trow (1966). They delineated four basic orientations toward the college experience which they labeled "academic," "vocational" and "nonconformist." The question in our study measuring these orientations was taken from the Educational Testing Service's College Student Questionnaire; the question was constructed specifically as an operational definition of the four Clark-Trow subcultures. In this question (Question 49)[1] the students were presented with four paragraphs describing four different "philosophies" about the purposes and goals of a college education, and asked to rank the statements according to the accuracy with which they portrayed the students' own point of view. "Philosophy A" which represented the vocational point of view emphasized "education essentially as preparation for an occupational future." "Philosophy B," representing the academic orientation, stressed the importance of "scholarly pursuit of knowledge and understanding. . .serious involvement in course work or independent study beyond the minimum required." "Philosophy C," representing the collegiate orientation, emphasized "extracurricular activities, living group functions, athletics, social life, rewarding friendships, and loyalty to college traditions." Finally, the "nonconformist" orientation described a philosophy which emphasizes "individualistic interests and styles, concern for personal identity, and often contempt for many aspects of organized society." The nonconformist and academic orientations, it should be noted, both represent involvement in intellectual concerns and ideas; the major distinction is that the academic students follow their intellectual interests within the traditional academic framework of the college, whereas the nonconformists pursue these interests outside the formal college structure of classes and curricular requirements.

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[1] For the exact wordings of the questions referred to in this and the following chapters, see the questionnaires presented in Appendix B. Unless otherwise indicated, question numbers refer to Part I of the questionnaires in the appendix. When the questions come from Part II or Part III of this questionnaire, they will be so indicated in the discussion.

The Clark-Trow typologies have sometimes been criticized as being overly broad. The academic subculture can include the intellectually curious students as well as the academic grinds; nonconformists include both political radicals and "cultural" dropouts; the collegiates include students seriously involved in many of the issues of the university as well as those concerned with "partying" and "having a good time." As a way of getting at some of these distinctions, another question was asked at a later point in the questionnaire (Part III, Question 17). Here the students were presented with a list of ten "kinds of students" and asked which of these they felt "most similar to".

Table II:1 presents the relationship between attitudes toward the Residential College and the students' basic college orientations as measured by their identification on both the Clark-Trow typologies and the ten student types outlined in the other question. (The Clark-Trow subcultures were presented in a ranking question and the table presents the mean rank assigned to each subculture; in the question presenting the ten student types, students were able to indicate they were "most similar" to more than one type--the figures in the table refer to all students who mentioned feeling similar to each given type, even if they also mentioned one or two other types.)

If we look first in Table II:1 at the findings for the Clark-Trow typologies, we see the clearest relationships with the vocational and nonconformist subcultural identifications.[2] For both the men and the women students, those who favor the Residential College give clearly higher

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[2] In this and all the other tables in this chapter, two sets of statistical significance figures will be presented: those for relationships involving all four types of responses to the Residential College (those who never heard of the Residential College and those uncertain of how they feel about it as well as those who clearly favor it or do not favor it); and those for the comparison of the favorable and unfavorable groups. In our discussion of the findings we will comment only on the latter. For the purposes of the discussion of this chapter, we are not interested in the many findings indicating that the students who never heard of the Residential College are clearly different from the other three groups of students. This group consists largely of students with a very narrow orientation toward the university, oblivious to much of what's going on around them in the environment that doesn't touch on their immediate individualized concerns. Students in this group are different from the other students in many ways and on many dimensions; but these differences spring from their general lack of involvement in the university, not from their non-involvement in

TABLE II-1

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Identification with Student Typologies

	Males				
	Favor RC (N=95)	Uncertain (N=113)	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)	Never Heard of RC (N=173)	Significance Tests
Identification with Clark-Trow Subcultural Typologies					
Mean Ranking Given To: (4 Ranks, 1=High)					
Vocational	2.97	2.52	2.48	2.38	F(all cols.) = 6.661, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=13.557, p=.001
Academic	1.82	2.07	2.10	2.32	F(all cols.) = 7.645, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.408, p=,05
Collegiate	2.50	2.08	2.08	1.95	F(all cols.) = 4.789, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 7.774, p=.01
Nonconformist	2.68	3.22	3.22	3.23	F(all cols.) = 6.039, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=13.098, p=.001
Identification with Different Student Types					
Proportion who feel they are similar to:					
"intellectuals"	58%	35%	33%	32%	Chi^2(all cols.) =21.477, df=3, p=.001 Chi^2(col.1vs.3) =14.859, df=1, p=.001
"partying types"	13%	22%	18%	26%	Chi^2(all cols.) = 7.774, df=3, p=.10 Chi^2(col.1vs.3) = 0.841, df=1, p= NS
"creative, nonconformists"	32%	15%	16%	12%	Chi^2(all cols.) =18.286, df=3, p=.001 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 7.731, df=1, p=.01

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TABLE II-1 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Identification with Student Typologies

Identification with Different Student Types (cont.)	Males				
	Favor RC (N=95)	Uncertain (N=113)	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)	Never Heard of RC (N-173)	Significance Tests
Proportion who feel they are similar to:					
"religious, ethnic"	2%	5%	6%	4%	Chi^2(all cols.) = 2.475, df=3, p=NS Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 1.383, df=1, p=NS
"athletes"	4%	13%	7%	17%	Chi^2(all cols.) =15.149, df=3, p=.01 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 0.319, df=1, p=NS
"concerned with field or occupation"	21%	34%	40%	27%	Chi^2(all cols.) =11.885, df=3, p=.01 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 8.794, df=1, p=.001
"concerned with social-political issues"	38%	22%	18%	12%	Chi^2(all cols.) =25.596, df=3, p=.001 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)=10.974, df=1, p=.001
"concerned with studying--getting good grades"	39%	35%	48%	43%	Chi^2(all cols.) = 4.715, df=3, p=NS Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 1.583, df=1, p=NS
"concerned with campus issues and events"	17%	11%	8%	3%	Chi^2(all cols.) =16.286, df=3, p=.001 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 3.883, df=1, p=.05
"casual...average types"	21%	35%	31%	41%	Chi^2(all cols.) =11.689, df=3, p=.01 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 2.345, df=1, p=NS

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TABLE II-1 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Identification with Student Typologies

Females

	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=114)	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)	Never Heard of RC (N=201)	Significance Tests
Identification with Clark-Trow Subcultural Typologies Mean Ranking Given To: (4 Ranks, 1=High)					
Vocational	3.04	2.67	2.59	2.62	F(all cols.) = 3.790, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)=11.346, p=.001
Academic	2.00	2.23	2.17	2.23	F(all cols.) = 1.560, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.297, p=NS
Collegiate	2.09	1.95	1.90	1.68	F(all cols.) = 3.258, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.429, p=NS
Nonconformist	2.81	3.10	3.28	3.37	F(all cols.) = 5.346, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 9.654, p=.01
Identification with Different Student Types Proportion who feel they are similar to:					
"intellectuals"	54%	45%	35%	30%	Chi^2(all cols.) =15.393, df=3, p=.01 Chi^2 (col.1 vs.3)= 7.048, df=1, p=.01
"partying types"	9%	13%	19%	21%	Chi^2(all cols.) = 7.524, df=3, p=.10 Chi^2 (col.1 vs.3)= 3.613, df=1, p=.10
"creative, nonconformists"	24%	15%	17%	17%	Chi^2(all cols.) = 2.571, df=3, p=NS Chi^2 (col.1 vs.3)= 1.190, df=1, p=NS

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TABLE II-1 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Identification with Student Typologies

	Females				
Identification with Different Student Types (cont.)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=114)	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)	Never Heard of RC (N=201)	Significance Tests
Proportion who feel they are similar to:					
"religious, ethnic"	10%	9%	6%	7%	Chi^2(all cols.) = 1.651, df=3, p=NS Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 0.597, df=1, p=NS
"athletes"	-	-	-	-	-
"concerned with field or occupation"	23%	27%	30%	25%	Chi^2(all cols.) = 1.668, df=3, p=NS Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 0.967, df=1, p=NS
"concerned with social-political issues"	30%	17%	17%	9%	Chi^2(all cols.) =18.752, df=3, p=.001 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 4.763, df=1, p= .05
"concerned with studying--getting good grades"	32%	42%	39%	46%	Chi^2(all cols.) = 4.840, df=3, p=NS Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 0.739, df=1, p=NS
"concerned with campus issues and events"	16%	6%	13%	3%	Chi^2(all cols.) =20.801, df=3, p=.001 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 0.066, df=1, p=NS
"casual...average types"	38%	52%	43%	56%	Chi^2(all cols.) =10.906, df=3, p=.05 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 0.415, df=1, p=NS

rankings to the nonconformist subculture and clearly lower rankings to the vocational subculture than do those students who do not favor the Residential College. This is what one might have expected. The problems of the multiversity that educational innovations like the Residential College attempt to correct--the impersonality, the lack of an intense intellectual experience--are less significant for students who are primarily oriented toward career preparation; at the same time, these vocational students are particularly responsive to the course diversity and technical expertise that the multiversity has to offer. But these limitations of the multiversity do represent major reasons why the nonconformist students feel they have had to develop their intellectual and cultural interests outside the traditional structures of the institution.

The findings in Table II:1 are somewhat less clear for the students identifying with the academic and collegiate subcultures. Among the men, those who favor the Residential College tend to be more academic and less collegiate than those who do not favor the Residential College. Again this is what might have been expected. A major appeal of the Residential College is the possibility it offers for a more intense intellectual experience, particularly through closer relationships with faculty. One might expect it, therefore, to be more appealing to the academically oriented students. The collegiates, on the other hand, are students who apparently have found satisfaction for their diverse extracurricular and social interests in the large and varied scene of the multiversity. However, it should be noted that the findings on the academic and collegiate subcultures are less striking, particularly among the women students where the differences are small and not statistically significant. To some extent, particularly with respect to the academic subculture, these less clear findings may be attributed to the breadth and, hence, ambiguity of the Clark-Trow categories.

Some further amplifications of the findings on the Clark-Trow question appear in the second part of Table II:1 which relates the attitudes to the Residential College to the responses to the question that delineated the ten student types. Of particular interest are the responses to the two typologies which differentiated the broadly intellectual students and the academic grinds, both of which tend to be subsumed within the "academic" category of the Clark-Trow question. The two types were presented as "The intellectual students, those who may not get good grades but are involved in the world of books and ideas," and "The students who are most concerned about studying, keeping up with the course work, getting good grades." It is clear in Table II:1 that these two types of students are very different in their attitudes toward the Residential College. The broadly intellectual students clearly favor the type of educational reform represented by the Residential College; the more narrowly academically involved are more satisfied with their existing situation, and more often tend to say they do not favor the Residential College (although this latter difference is not

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the Residential College issue per se. Therefore, the fact that they are significantly different on many issues is not specially relevant to our interest in this chapter. It should also be noted that throughout this chapter, and in most discussions of this monograph, we will be looking at all relationships separately for the men and women, on the assumption that the factors related to different reactions to the university will often be different for men and women.

statistically significant for either the men or the women). The Residential College and what it represents seems to be clearly appealing to the broadly intellectual students, rather than to those academically oriented in a more restricted sense. This appeal of the Residential College to students with broad intellectual interests is particularly significant, and a theme we will see recurring throughout the findings in this chapter.

Some other findings in Table II:1 may also be noted briefly. The nonconformist category in the Clark-Trow typology tends to focus on students who are alienated from the University because of a deep involvement in aesthetic, cultural and "identity" issues, and to minimize the non-conformity and alienation from the University that comes from a strong social and political commitment. Two of the ten student types attempted to distinguish these two groups of students ("The creative perhaps nonconformist students" and "The students who are most concerned about social and political issues on a national or international scale".) As indicated in Table II:1, favoring the Residential College is related to both types of non-conformist expression, the creative, identity-oriented individualist, and the student with a deep social and political concern.

In summary, the findings in Table II:1, present in a very general sense some of the major orientations underlying a student's interest in the kind of educational reform represented by the Residential College. The broadly intellectual students, the students who are questioning traditional values, the politically concerned, those heavily absorbed in identity issues and searchings, tend to be critical of the multiversity and find an appeal in the educational environment promised by the Residential College. Students with more restricted vocational or academic interests, as well as socially-oriented collegiate students, are more satisfied with the multiversity and less interested in the Residential College. In the next set of tables within this section we will look in more detail at some of these orientations towards college, to amplify and in some instances clarify the general impressions that derive from Table II:1.

Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations

Table II:2 presents the relationships between attitudes toward the Residential College and several measures of intellectual and aesthetic value orientations. The first four measures in the table are scales from the Omnibus Personality Inventory, that were developed in the studies of the Berkeley Center for the Study of Higher Education to measure cognitive and intellectual orientations of college students. These and three other scales from the OPI were administered in the freshmen and senior questionnaires.[3] Following is the description of these scales presented in the OPI manual of 1963.

> Complexity: This measure reflects an experimental orientation rather than a fixed way of viewing and organizing phenomena. High scorers are tolerant of ambiguities and uncertainties, are fond of novel

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[3] Because of the time factor, the three longest scales (Thinking Introversion, as well as the Social Maturity and Impulse Expression scales that will be discussed at later points in this chapter) were reduced to approximately 30 items each by a random selection of items from the total scale.

situations and ideas and are frequently aware of subtle variations in the environment. Most persons high on this dimension prefer to deal with complexity as opposed to simplicity and are disposed to seek out and to enjoy diversity and ambiguity.

Aestheticism: The high scorers endorse statements indicating diverse interest in artistic matters and activities. The content of the statements in this scale extends beyond paintings, sculpture and music and includes interest in literature and dramatics.

Thinking Introversion: Persons scoring high on this measure are characterized by a liking for reflective thought particularly of an abstract nature. They express interest in a variety of areas such as literature, art and philosophy. Their thinking tends to be less dominated by objective conditions and generally accepted ideas than that of thinking extroverts (low scorers). Extroverts show a preference for overt action and tend to evaluate ideas on the basis of their practical immediate application.

Theoretical Orientation: This scale measures interest in science and in scientific activities including a preference for using the scientific method in thinking. High scorers are generally logical, rational and critical in their approach to problems.

The other entries in Table II:2 come from the senior questionnaire.

"Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations Toward Life" comes from Question 57 of the Senior Questionnaire. This question asked the student to rate the importance he felt a number of different areas would have in the life he would live after college. Among the list of areas the following two were included: "The world of ideas, the intellectual life" and "The world of art and music, the aesthetic life". The index in Table II:2 represents the summation of the importance the student gave to these two items.[4]

The next entry in Table II:2 comes from question 47 which listed a number of college goals and asked the student to indicate the importance of each of them to him. Among the items listed was the following: "Exploring new ideas--the excitement of learning". Table II:2 presents the relationship between attitudes towards the Residential College and the significance the student assigned to these intellectual goals.

The other data in Table II:2 relate to the extent of the student's library and "serious" reading (Questions 121 and 122), and his responses to two of the items from question 25 of the questionnaire which asked the student to indicate the experiences that had been most important to him in his life at the university. This latter question presented the student with a long list of items each of which had to be checked on a five-point scale varying from "of crucial importance" to "not at all". In this long list of items were two which were particularly relevant for tapping a student's intellectual and aesthetic interests. These were "discussing ideas, intellectual exchange with friends, other students" and "experiences with music, drama, art".

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[4] This and the other indices presented in the tables of this monograph were in most instances constructed from the factors that emerged in a number of factor analyses of the questionnaire items. The items were organized into broad conceptual categories, and separate factor analyses performed within each of the categories. The empirical criterion for determining whether an item belonged in a given factor was a loading of at least .40 on that factor and negligible loadings on other factors. Separate factor analyses were performed for male and female students. Except for Chapter V, the discussion in this report will be confined to the indices that were common for the male and female students.

Looking first at the findings for the men students in Table II:2, one is struck by their striking consistency. Except for the responses on the Theoretical Orientation scale which measures specifically scientific interest rather than broader intellectual and cultural interests, the findings on all the different measures show that the men students who favored the Residential College are higher in the measures of intellectual and aesthetic orientations. It is also of interest that the findings are much less clear and significant for the women. While in all cases they are in the same direction as for the men, they are only statistically significant on the three OPI scales. Apparently, the Residential College has a strikingly clear appeal for intellectually and aesthetically oriented men students, but a somewhat less clear and unambivalent appeal for women students with these orientations.

It is interesting that this distinction is consistent with the preliminary findings from a research study initiated when the Residential College was opened in 1967 (Reimer, 1969). These findings, on the students who actually went to the Residential College, suggest that while the highly intellectually-oriented men students seemed satisfied with their experience at the college (at least at the end of the freshman year) a larger proportion of intellectually oriented women were dissatisfied and transferred out of the College.

It is not immediately apparent why intellectually oriented women should have greater ambivalence about the environment of the Residential College. It may reflect the fact that there are greater conflicts and pressures on an intellectual woman in our society, and that these conflicts get exacerbated in the intense interpersonal environment of a Residential College. Intellectual women may require a certain amount of distance to be able better to integrate their intellectual interests with the demands on them for intimacy and sexuality. While this type of integration may also present issues for the men students, they are not exacerbated by the role conflicts that makes it particularly a problem for women.

Vocational Orientations

In the question that presented the students with a list of eight possible goals for college (Question 47) and asked them to indicate the significance and importance of each of these goals, two of the eight items presented a view of college as a preparation for occupation and career. One of these items was phrased in narrow vocational terms, "thinking through what kind of occupation and career I want and developing some of the necessary skills"; the other presented a broader and deeper conception of a vocational orientation, "developing a deep, perhaps professional grasp of a specific field of study".

TABLE II-2

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations

	Males				Females			
Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations	Favor RC (N=95)	Uncertain (N=113)	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)	Never Heard of RC (N=173)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=114)	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)	Never Heard of RC (N=201)
Complexity Scale of the OPI (Mean on 23-point scale, 23=high)	17.62	14.76	14.84	14.41	16.25	14.86	14.45	13.48
	F(all cols.) = 9.053, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 17.680, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 4.895, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.641, p=.05			
Aestheticism Scale of the OPI (Means on 23-point scale, 23=high)	15.43	12.61	12.37	11.64	16.83	15.90	15.42	14.86
	F(all cols.) =10.935, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)=22.485, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 3.955, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.057, p=.05			
Thinking Introversion Scale of the OPI (Means on 31-point scale, 31=high)	20.35	18.11	18.22	17.10	19.94	18.90	18.38	17.09
	F(all cols.) = 9.885, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=13.782, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 8.255, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.669, p=.05			
Theoretical Orientation Scale of the OPI (Means on 30-point scale, 30=high)	19.90	19.13	19.27	18.10	17.51	17.00	17.12	15.37
	F(all cols.) = 3.681, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.196, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 6.707, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.398, p=NS			

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TABLE II-2 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=95)	Uncertain (N=113)	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)	Never Heard of RC (N=173)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=114)	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)	Never Heard of RC (N=201)
Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations (cont.)								
Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations Toward Life (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high)	4.71	4.20	4.08	3.95	4.78	4.47	4.67	4.42
	F(all cols.) = 6.431, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=12.123, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 2.406, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.423, p=NS			
Significance of "exploring new ideas" as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	2.75	2.54	2.50	2.43	2.76	2.79	2.69	2.62
	F(all cols.) = 6.984, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=13.426, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 3.696, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.399, p=NS			
Extent of "serious reading" (Means on 3-point scale, 1="a lot")	2.19	2.39	2.48	2.41	2.26	2.43	2.33	2.49
	F(all cols.) = 4.526, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)=12.982, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 3.127, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.552, p=NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE II-2 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=95)	Uncertain (N=113)	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)	Never Heard of RC (N=173)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=114)	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)	Never Heard of RC (N=201)
Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations (cont.)								
Number of Books Owned (Means on 7-point scale, 7=over 200)	3.99	3.42	3.23	2.84	3.66	3.59	3.60	2.87
	F(all cols.) = 5.891, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 7.250, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 5.710, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.043, p=NS			
Significance of "discussing ideas, intellectual exchange..." Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.10	2.33	2.37	2.49	1.92	1.92	1.98	2.18
	F(all cols.) = 3.683, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.568, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 3.247, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.277, p=NS			
Significance of "experiences with music, drama, art" Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.78	3.17	3.09	3.23	2.43	2.45	2.49	2.57
	F(all cols.) = 3.379, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.492, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 0.511, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.181, p=NS			

Table II:3 presents the relationship between the importance that a student assigned to each of these college goals and his attitudes toward the Residential College. As indicated in Table II:3, no significant relationships appeared. Among the men students there is some tendency for those who do not favor the Residential College to assign somewhat more importance to a narrowly defined vocational orientation. It is interesting that even this tendency does not appear for the women students. The stereotype of the "vocational" student is one who views college in very narrow pragmatic and anti-intellectual terms, applies much more to the men than to the women students. For a woman, using the college experience to help think through occupational issues is if anything more likely to occur among the intellectual students, given the conflict and ambivalence around career commitments for women in our society.

But even among the men the tendency for vocationally oriented students to reject the Residential College is not significant, and certainly not as clear as it appeared in Table II:1, on the Clark-Trow question, where a high rating to a vocational orientation meant that one had chosen it over and above academic and non-conformist typologies. It appears from Table II:3, that when students are not forced to choose between vocational and other orientations, those who favor the Residential College are not opposed to seeing college as important for helping them think through issues of occupation and career.

The critical distinction between students who differ in their attitudes toward the Residential College is not whether occupation and career are important, but in the kind of significance they have. The two groups of students differ in their orientations towards the world of work. In Question 79 of the questionnaire, after the students were asked to indicate the occupation they expected to enter, they were presented with a list of items and asked how important each of them had been in their decision about whether or not to go into that kind of work. A factor analysis of these responses delineated four factors. One factor represented those items reflecting the desire for an occupation as a means of self-expression ("this occupation is a unique fit with my abilities and skills," "this occupation is a unique expression of my interests," "in this occupation I can be creative and original".); another factor reflected a much more extrinsic orientation toward the world of work, one which views an occupation in terms of the external rewards it offers ("this occupation is a very respected one", "it provides many opportunities for advancement", "it promises a secure future", "the income is high"). Still another orientation focused on jobs that maximized autonomy and minimized direction and pressure from external sources ("in this occupation I will not have to work under very high pressure", "this occupation leaves me relatively free of supervision by others"). Finally one factor stressed the importance of an occupation that gave one an opportunity to express involvement with people and social values ("this occupation gives me a chance to be helpful to others and/or useful to society in general", "this occupation gives me a chance to work with people rather than things").

Table II:3 relates students' responses on these four different orientations toward work, to their attitudes toward the Residential College. The clearest consistent finding emerges with respect to the emphasis on external rewards. This orientation is less important to students who favor

TABLE II-3

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Vocational Orientations

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Vocational Orientations								
Significance of "thinking through...occupation and career..." as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	2.51	2.56	2.64	2.61	2.68	2.69	2.66	2.78
	F(all cols.) = 1.368, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.672, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.121, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.102, p=NS			
Significance of "developing...professional grasp of a...field of study" as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	2.17	2.28	2.22	2.31	2.38	2.25	2.30	2.35
	F(all cols.) = 1.150, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.396, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.003, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.909, p=NS			
Reasons for Choice of Occupation								
Self Expression (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high)	6.58	6.48	6.51	6.38	7.00	6.43	6.62	6.68
	F(all cols.) = 0.226, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.072, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.059, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.530, p=NS			
External Rewards (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	4.54	4.98	5.96	6.24	3.32	3.35	4.07	4.25
	F(all cols.) =10.776, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=15.532, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 5.893, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.133, p=.05			

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TABLE II-3 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Vocational Orientations

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Reasons for Choice of Occupation (cont.)								
Freedom from External Pressure (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high)	2.78	2.73	2.79	2.82	2.69	2.08	2.30	2.24
	F(all cols.) = 0.112, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.004, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 3.689, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.649, p=.05			
Involvement with People and Social Value (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high)	4.43	4.44	4.42	4.38	4.56	5.11	4.75	4.93
	F(all cols.) = 0.025, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.003, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.931, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3) = 0.661, p=NS			

the Residential College. The differences are clear and significant for both men and women. The only other relationship in this area that is significant appears for the women students on the "freedom from external pressure" index, where we again find that the students who favor the Residential College (at least among the women) are more rejecting of the external aspects of the job. Just as they more clearly reject external rewards, they are also particularly sensitive to externally presented demands.

In summary, the findings in Table II:3 help amplify the relationship between a vocational orientation and feelings about educational innovation and reform. The students who are attracted to educational experiments like the Residential College are not students who are unconcerned about issues of occupation and career, or who negate the role that college can play in helping one think through these issues.[5] What they are opposed to is vocationalism in the very narrow sense. This is evident in the fact that they more often rejected a vocational orientation in a question that forced them to choose between that and other more broadly intellectual orientations; and it also manifests itself in the fact that they are clearly less materialistic and externally oriented in their orientations toward the world of work and their occupational choices.

Collegiate Orientations

A student's involvement in what Clark and Trow have referred to as "collegiate" concerns, was measured in a number of questions and indices in the questionnaire. The relationships between these questions and attitudes toward the Residential College are presented in Table II:4.

The first index in Table II:4 was built from question 25 of the Senior Questionnaire, which listed a number of different experiences and asked the students to check how important each of them had been in their lives at Michigan. In this list were three items that tap some of the extra-curricular involvements subsumed under Clark and Trow's notion of the collegiately oriented student--"Extra-curricular life--the campus groups and activities I've become involved in"; "School spirit activities, e.g. Michigras, Homecoming"; "Intramural or varsity sports (as either a spectator or participant)".

A major aspect of the collegiate orientation is the focus on social life, partying and dating. This was measured in an index consisting of two of the items from Question 25 ("parties and social life" and "dating") and the item from Question 48 which indicated the extent to which the student felt that "having fun, enjoying the last period before assuming adult responsibilities" was one of the goals he had achieved in college. Table II:4 also presents the findings on the significance attached to the "having fun" item as a college goal (Question 47).

Finally since the collegiate orientation has traditionally been focused in the fraternity and sorority system, Table II:4 presents the findings on the relationship between attitudes toward the Residential College and students' attitudes toward the Greek system, as well as whether they were living in a fraternity or sorority.[6]

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[5] Perhaps this should not be surprising since "relevance" is one of the demands of students interested in educational change, and occupational decisions are obviously crucially "relevant".

It is clear from the findings in Table II:4 that collegiately oriented students are less interested in the Residential College. On all the questions and indices presented in Table II:4 for men and women students, significant differences appear between those who favor and those who do not favor the Residential College.

To some extent these findings complement those on intellectuality that we have previously discussed. Since we saw that the intellectual students tended to favor the Residential College (particularly among the men) we might expect that the collegiate students, representing a somewhat non-intellectual orientation, would be less involved in the Residential College. This is not the only explanation however, since, as we have seen, intellectuality was not clearly related to attitudes toward the Residential College among the women students, and generally at Michigan the fraternities and sororities did not fulfill the stereotype of the anti-intellectual Greek system.

In addition to the issue of intellectuality, Table II:4 suggests that collegiate students may be less interested in the Residential College because they found social and interpersonal gratifications at Michigan that other students were less able to find and therefore looked for in the more personal and intimate environment of a Residential College. The impersonality of the multiversity apparently was less of an issue for the collegiately-oriented students, particularly those who formed their close subculture around the fraternity and sorority system.

Value Orientations

We have seen in the discussion of the preceding section, that attitudes toward the Residential College reflect a student's general orientations toward the college experience. These college orientations and goals, in turn, are aspects of a broader set of value orientations and personality characteristics that we were also interested in exploring in this study. Some of the relevant value orientations will be discussed in this section, and more general personality characteristics in the section that follows.

The study had a primary concern with two sets of value issues that we felt would be particularly relevant to college students. Since college is a period when many students re-examine their values--questioning the values passed down from their parents and struggling to form a set of values and commitments they feel are truly "their own"--we included a number of questions on the students' position with respect to traditional value orientations. Secondly, because of the heightened significance of

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[6] Figures are presented for whether or not students were living in a fraternity or sorority, rather than actual membership, because it was felt that the former provided a better index of a student's collegiate orientation. Since seniors were permitted to maintain membership in fraternities and sororities without living there, the figures in Table II:4 underestimate the membership figures, particularly for the fraternities.

TABLE II-4

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Collegiate Orientations

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Collegiate Orientations								
Significance of Collegiate Experiences in College (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	5.07	6.03	6.20	6.42	4.86	5.24	5.76	5.73
	F(all cols.) = 6.220, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)=13.403, p = .001				F(all cols.) = 3.368, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 7.522, p = .01			
Significance of "parties" and "dating" (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	6.00	6.76	7.46	7.40	7.18	7.73	8.38	8.42
	F(all cols.) = 7.009, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)=17.652, p = .001				F(all cols.) = 6.315, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)=12.779, p = .001			
Significance of "having fun" as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	1.65	1.85	1.96	1.95	1.90	1.99	2.09	2.15
	F(all cols.) = 4.852, p = .01 F(col.1 vs.3)=14.074, p = .001				F(all cols.) = 3.514, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.360, p = .05			

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TABLE II-4 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Collegiate Orientations

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=113)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Collegiate Orientations (cont.)								
Attitudes Toward Fraternities and Sororities (Means on 5-point scale, 1=favorable)	3.08	2.50	2.52	2.27	2.99	2.89	2.49	2.49
	F(all cols.) = 9.559, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)=12.041, p = .001				F(all cols.) = 5.921, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 9.055, p = .01			
Proportion of Students Living in Fraternities and Sororities	13%	10%	5%	18%	33%	23%	15%	30%
	Chi^2(all cols.) =12.423,df=3,p=.01 Chi^2(col.1vs.3) = 4.682,df=1,p=.05				Chi^2(all cols.) =12.388,df=3,p=.01 Chi^2(col.1vs.3) = 9.136,df=1,p=.01			

political values on college campuses in the 1960's, we included a number of questions in the political area. Both sets of value orientations--traditional and political--will be related to attitudes toward the Residential College in the discussion that follows.

Traditional Values

Three measures of a student's traditional value orientations were used in the study. One index which we have labelled "Self-Concept as Traditional" derives from a factor analysis of Question 105 which asked the student to describe himself on 28 seven-point scales defined at each end by bi-polar adjectives. The traditionalism self-concept index consists of the following adjective descriptions which loaded heavily on one factor: "Religious-Agnostic", "Politically Conservative-Politically Liberal", "Conventional-Unconventional".

The other two measures of traditionalism consist of the Religious Liberalism and Social Maturity scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory. They were defined in the manual as follows:

> Religious Liberalism: The high scorers are skeptical of religious beliefs and practices and tend to reject most of them, especially those that are orthodox or fundamentalistic.
>
> Social Maturity: High scorers are not authoritarian and they are flexible, tolerant and realistic in their thinking. They are not dependent upon authority rules or rituals for managing social relationships. In general, they are impunitive although capable of expressing a question directly when it is appropriate.

Thus, the study's measures of traditionalism include both general measures and the particular area--religious values--that is often a critical issue among college age students in the process of moving away from traditional values of their parents. Among the general measures of traditionalism, the Social Maturity Scale is particularly relevant. The concept of "social maturity" overlaps considerably with the construct of non-authoritarianism as it developed in the original studies of the authoritarian personality (Adorno, et al., 1951); it describes an individual who is able to break from traditional modes of thinking, and obtain some objectivity and distance with respect to his parents and their values.

The relationship between attitudes toward the Residential College and these measures of traditionalism are presented in Table II:3. As indicated in this table, the feelings about this educational innovation are clearly related to traditional values and orientations among the men students. When compared with the men who are not interested in the Residential College, those who feel they would have liked such an experience more often see themselves as unconventional, and are clearly less traditional as measured by their scores on religious liberalism and nonauthoritarianism. For the men students, then, the interest in this kind of educational experience is associated with a less traditional orientation toward life generally. For the men students not interested in this different educational environment, their satisfaction with the educational status quo is part of a more general satisfaction with traditional values and ways doing things.

TABLE II-5

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Traditional Values

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=38)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Self-Concept as Traditional (Means on 19-point scale, 19=traditional)	6.46	8.60	8.71	9.19	8.32	9.04	9.35	9.93
	F(all cols.) = 12.340, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 20.541, p = .001				F(all cols.) = 3.315, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.424, p = NS			
Social Maturity Scale of the OPI (Means on 37-point scale, 37=high)	29.76	28.36	27.42	26.02	28.33	27.85	27.43	25.47
	F(all cols.) = 12.238 p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 12.577, p = .001				F(all cols.) = 8.971, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.734, p = NS			
Religious Liberalism Scale of the OPI (Means on 29-point scale, 29=high)	19.02	17.50	16.99	16.71	17.31	17.13	16.77	15.76
	F(all cols.) = 6.608, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 9.554, p = .01				F(all cols.) = 2.471, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.548, p = NS			

It is interesting in Table II:5 that among the women students, while the findings are in the same direction as they are for the men, the differences are less striking and not statistically significant. This parallels the findings on intellectual orientations where we also saw that the relationships were less clear for the women. In general, then, it appears that attitudes toward educational change are less clearly related to more general ideological and value positions for the women students than for the men. We will comment on the possible meaning of this in the summary discussion of this chapter.

Political Attitudes and Interests

We noted above that one item in the measure "self-concept as traditional" was the student's self rating on "politically conservative-politically liberal". One particular aspect of the student's stance with respect to traditional values and ideologies is his position on political issues. We had special interest in the political area in this study, and the senior questionnaire dealt with it fairly extensively. A factor analysis of the large number of items relative to the political domain resulted in the following five separate factors:

> Domestic conservatism-liberalism: The summation of the responses to the following two items: Agreement-disagreement on a question on attitudes toward labor unions (Question 129) and attitudes toward Medicare (Question 134).
>
> Attitudes toward Civil Liberties: The summation of the attitudes expressed on four questions on civil liberty issues: whether or not Communists should be allowed to teach in a college, the right of legislative committees to investigate political beliefs of faculty members, and the propriety of refusing a passport to a socialist (Question 129); and attitudes toward congressional investigations of UnAmerican activities" (Question 134).
>
> Attitudes toward Civil Rights: The summation of responses to three questions on attitudes toward Blacks (Question 130, 131 and the item on Civil Rights sit-in demonstrations from Question 134).
>
> Attitudes toward Foreign Affairs: The summation of three questions designed to measure militancy and attitudes toward foreign relations. These included attitudes toward taking firm action against the Castro government in Cuba, attitudes toward defense spending, and approval or disapproval of the ban on Nuclear testing (Question 134).
>
> Attitudes toward Student Interest in Political Action: The responses to one of the items from Question 134 in which the students were asked to indicate their approval or disapproval of "increased student interest in political action".

In addition to indices built on the items from these factors, a scale on degree of political interest (regardless of conservative-liberal direction of this interest) was also constructed. This consisted of the responses to three self-ratings on political interest and information (Questions 135, 136, and 139).

Finally, students were also asked their attitudes about what should be done with regard to the Vietnam War (i.e., in the early months of 1966 and 1967 when the questionnaires were given to the two cohorts) as well as their political party identification.

The student responses on these various political ideological measures are related to the attitudes toward the Residential College in Table II:6. The findings are consistent with those on the more general measures of traditionality discussed in the preceding section. Among the men students there are clear, consistent relationships. Those favoring the Residential College are generally more politically involved and aware, as well as more politically liberal on issues of civil rights, civil liberties and foreign relations. Among the women, we again find that the relationships, while in the same direction, are less consistent and clear, again indicating that the reactions to this educational innovation are somewhat less embedded in a more general ideological position for the women than for the men students.

Personality "Identity" Characteristics

There has been an increasing tendency for personality-oriented research on college students to cast the psycho-social issues that college students face within an "identity" framework (cf Chickering, 1969). This is not surprising since Erikson's (1959) identity concepts were developed as particularly relevant to the critical issues of post-adolescence. In addition, many identity-relevant concepts seem specially appropriate for people of this age group who are in college. For example, the concept of post-adolescence as providing a psycho-social "moratorium" for testing and trying out different alternatives before making one's identity commitments, has particular relevance for the value-confronting and value-testing environment provided in a college setting. The identity orientation, then, served as the framework for the personality issues explored in this study.

There are a number of identity concepts that are meaningful in a study of college students. One is the issue of salience--the extent to which the whole identity issue is central and critical to a given individual. Some students enter college already relatively settled in their values, their self-concepts and the directions they will take in life. For other students the major preoccupation of their college years is the self-testing of various life alternatives and the process of attempting to arrive at such directions. One critical dimension then is the issue of identity-seeking and identity-searching itself, the extent to which this whole process is a critical conscious concern.

In addition to the general issue of identity searching, we also attempted to focus on particular areas of life that are major arenas in which identity conflicts and developments are worked through in the college years. In thinking through issues of who one is and the directions in which one should go, the question of one's basic value commitments becomes critical. Several questions in the questionnaire therefore explored the process of value commitment. Also critical in these post-adolescent pre-adult years

TABLE II-6

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Political Attitudes and Interests

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Political Attitudes								
Degree of Political Interest (Means on 19-point scale, 19=high interest)	15.84	13.83	14.16	13.02	12.44	11.51	11.70	9.59
	F(all cols.) = 9.940, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=11.453, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 13.413, p =.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.832, p=NS			
Domestic Conservatism-Liberalism (Means on 9-point scale, 9=liberal)	6.74	6.16	6.33	5.92	6.68	6.22	5.97	6.11
	F(all cols.) = 4.019, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.891, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 3.081, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 8.535, p=.01			
Attitudes Toward Civil Rights (Means on 13-point scale, 13=pro-Civil Rights)	11.62	10.39	10.28	9.09	10.73	10.78	10.10	9.60
	F(all cols.) = 18.473, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 18.475, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 6.155, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.855, p=NS			
Attitudes Toward Civil Liberties (Means on 17-point scale, 17=pro Civil Liberties)	14.81	13.35	12.67	11.30	12.87	12.79	12.15	11.14
	F(all cols.) = 22.157, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 24.979, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 8.173, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.410, p=NS			

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TABLE II-6 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Political Attitudes and Interests

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Political Attitudes (cont.)								
Attitudes Toward Foreign Affairs (Means on 13-point scale, 1=militaristic position)	9.05	7.40	6.87	6.37	7.87	7.67	7.31	6.52
	F(all cols.) = 17.731, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 31.243, p = .001				F(all cols.) = 7.204, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.007, p=NS			
Attitudes Toward Student Interest in Political Action (Means on 5-point scale, 5=approve student political action)	4.30	4.09	4.08	3.81	4.30	4.25	4.20	4.04
	F(all cols.) = 7.857, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.221, p = .05				F(all cols.) = 3.277, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.771, p=NS			
Attitudes Toward Vietnam War								
Withdraw Completely	24%	14%	11%	9%	19%	14%	15%	13%
Adopt More Conciliatory Position	57	43	42	41	60	51	49	40
Continue Present Policy	11	27	18	20	13	21	21	31
Adopt Stronger Military Position	8	16	29	30	8	14	15	16
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Chi^2(all cols.)=37.711, df=9, p=.001 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 22.639,df=3,P=.001				Chi^2(all cols.)=15.599, df=9, p= .10 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 5.017,df=3,P=NS			

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TABLE II-6 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Political Attitudes and Interests

	Males				Females			
Political Affiliation	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N-116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Republican	15%	31%	31%	41%	18%	24%	31%	36%
Independent	32	27	36	27	32	32	23	35
Democrat	47	37	29	30	47	44	45	41
Radical	6	5	4	2	3	0	1	2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Males: Chi^2(all cols.) =22.515, df=9, p= .01
Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 12.298,df=3,P=.01

Females: Chi^2(all cols.) =15.813, df=9, p= .10
Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 6.492,df=3,P=.10

is the question of how one will fit into the major adult roles after college--marriage, parenthood and work. The occupational role has particular significance in the college years since it affects the major academic decisions one has to make during college. A number of questions in the questionnaire were therefore directed to exploring the student's feelings of adequacy or "fit" between his developing identity and these adult roles, and the process by which he spent his college years defining himself in relation to these roles.

The next four tables will present the relationship between attitudes to the Residential College and these four aspects of identity issues in college--identity seeking, value-identity concerns, feelings of "identity fit" and adequacy in prospective adult roles, and occupational and vocational identity concerns.

Identity-Seeking Orientations

A number of questions in the questionnaire attempted to tap the extent to which the process of searching to define oneself in relation to one's values and the social world, was a salient issue for the student. Several questions addressed this issue in a very general way. Although the questions were rather simplistic measures of a complex concept, they have related meaningfully to other concepts in a number of the data-analyses undertaken in this study.

The relationships between this identity-seeking orientation and attitudes toward the Residential College appear in II:7. One approach to this issue was a very simple question which asked the students "How much have you thought about the questions "Who am I? What do I want? What will I become?'" (Question 112). Another question approached this issue by attempting to tap the students' general self-criticism and self-questioning and the dissatisfaction with self that is a basic component of the process of identity-seeking and searching. Students were asked "How self-critical are you--how often do you have the feeling that you are missing your own ideals by some margin--never quite living up to your ideals?" (Question 113). Another simple and direct approach to this issue appeared in question 54 which presented the students with a list of experiences that college students often describe as crises and problems during the college years, and asked them to indicate the extent to which this had been a serious problem or crisis for them. Among the list of experiences presented to the students were the following: "A difficulty in 'finding' myself in the sense of personal meaning and identity--where I was headed, what I was seeking in life."

In addition to these questions trying to get very generaly at the identity-seeking orientation, the questionnaire was also interested specifically in the extent to which the student looked to college as the arena for helping him think through these identity issues. Two indice were constructed relevant to this issue, and also appear in Table II:7. One of these, "Identity Seeking as a College Goal" comes from the reponses to the question which asked the student to rate the importance to him of a number of purposes or goals of a college education (Question 47) Among the factors listed were the following two which were highly relaed and combined to form the "identity seeking" index: "finding myself,discovering what kind of person I really want to be" and "opportunities to think through what I really believe, what values are important to me." The second index in Table II:7 ("Achievement of Identity Goals in College") came from Question 48 which asked students how well they felt their college experience had helped them achieve these goals. The same list of items was presented to the students and the same two ("finding myself" and "opportunities to think through values") were combined for this index.

Table II:7 presents the relationship between the responses on all of these identity-searching items and attitudes toward the Residential College. The findings for the men students are again strikingly clear. On all the questions indicating an identity-searching orientation there are statistically significant differences between men students who favor and those who do not favor the Residential College. Favoring the Residential College among the men students is very clearly associated with an identity-seeking and searching orientation. The only question not significant for the men in Table II:7 is the one which focusses not on the identity searching that the students bring to their college experience, but on the extent to which they feel their identity goals have been achieved in college. Here there is only a slight and non-significant difference between the students who have differing views of the Residential College, indicating that while those who favor the Residential College have looked to the college experience as an arena for thinking through identity issues, they have not particularly found this desire fulfilled. This is not surprising, for if they had been unusually satisfied with the extent to which their years at Michigan had enabled them to fulfill these desires, we would not have expected them to look for a different kind of educational experience.

These findings are not necessarily what one might have predicted. The multiversity offers some advantages to the identity seeker who approaches the college years as a moratorium period providing the opportunity to test out various identity alternatives. Even the impersonality of the multiversity might be seen as an advantage, providing a person more of an opportunity to stand back a little, to pick and choose, rather than being forced into choices by the intense intimate environment of a Residential College. One might have predicted that a desire for such distance might have made the identity-seekers less favorable to the Residential College. However, the findings in Table II:7 suggest that this is not so, particularly for the men. In a sense, the ability to maximize the potentialities offered by the diversity in the multiversity, may depend upon already having arrived at a certain amount of certainty about the self and the direction in which one is going. The open-ended quality of the identities of the students who indicated high "searching" and "seeking" in response to our questions, may make them somewhat overwhelmed by the diversity and multiplicity of choices and resources available in the multiversity, without the personalized help in choosing that is available in settings like the Residential College.

Two of the characteristics promised by the Residential College were probably of special appeal to the identity-seekers among the students in our sample. It offers them a freer, less structured academic environment, giving them more time and "room" to test out who they are and what they want; a clearly structured set of classes are perhaps more beneficial to people who are more certain about where they are going. Secondly, the more

TABLE II-7

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and "Identity-Seeking" Orientations

"Identity-Seeking" Orientations	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Significance of "Identity Seeking" as a College Goal (Means on 5-point scale, 5=high)	4.31	4.06	3.97	3.86	4.61	4.51	4.42	4.27
	F(all cols.) = 5.044, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 8.344, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 4.883, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.848, p=NS			
Achievement of Identity Goals in College (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high)	5.64	5.35	5.42	5.33	5.92	5.81	5.77	5.67
	F(all cols.) = 1.443, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.818, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.045, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.957, p=NS			
Degree of Concern Over the Question, "Who Am I..." (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	1.83	2.13	2.21	2.22	1.94	2.05	2.14	2.07
	F(all cols.) = 6.189, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=14.937, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 1.317, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.682, p=NS			
Degree of Self-Criticism and Self-Questioning (Means on 4-point scale, 1="very self-critical")	1.88	1.99	2.13	2.10	1.94	2.05	2.02	2.05
	F(all cols.) = 3.219, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 8.017, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 0.519, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.638, p=NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE II-7 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and "Identity-Seeking" Orientations

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard Of RC (N=205)
"Identity-Seeking" Orientations (cont.)								
Bothered by Difficulty in "Finding" Self (Means on 4-point scale, 1=bothered "a great deal")	3.12	3.58	3.68	3.65	2.97	3.13	3.44	3.49
	F(all cols.) = 7.070, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=17.778, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 7.234, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=11.355, p=.001			

intimate personalized environment of the Residential College is probably also crucially important to students involved in the identity search. As the pheonmenal growth of the group encounter movement suggests, the search for identity in American life is closely tied to the search for intimacy, and it is likely the interpersonal experience of the Residential College setting that the identity-seekers are particularly interested in. It is important, in this connection, to point up that the desire for closer relationships applies not just to the desire for such relationships with friends, but also the desire for more meaningful relationships with faculty, for relationships whereby faculty might provide some personal models to help give direction to the identity-forming process.

The findings presented in Table II:7 have implications beyond the Residential College specifically. Most observers of the undergraduate scene would undoubtedly agree with the implications of the findings, that the desire to have the college experience address itself to one's personality development and identity concerns underlies much of the criticism of the multiversity, and the desire for a type of education that is freer, more unstructured and more addressed to affective as well as cognitive issues. The findings also highlight one of the problems faced in the pursuit of educational innovation and the attempt to make learning more affective and personally relevant. The problem is one of presenting an environment that enables a student to integrate affective and intellectual elements. Since we have already seen that the student desiring reforms like the Residential College tend to be highly intellectual in interests as well as "identity-seekers"; the raw material would seem to be there for the integration of the personal and intellectual orientations. However, as anyone who has attempted such innovations would attest, the integrative process is a difficult one. Perhaps, by its very nature, the intense search for personal meaning is difficult to integrate with the cognitive and intellectual elements we have traditionally viewed as the end products of the educational process.

As a final note it is interesting again to point out that the relationships presented in Table II:7 are much clearer for the men than for the women students. While the identity-searchers among the women also tend to favor the Residential College, the findings in most instances are less striking and not statistically significant. Again we may suggest the explanation that we offered when we noted that women evidenced less relationship between intellectual orientations and the desire for the Residential College. In our society the demands for intimacy may to some extent push a woman in a more traditional role, and hence be more difficult to integrate with her own concerns for self-development and finding the directions in which she wants to go as a person. Sexuality and intimacy which to a man are consistent with developing self-definitions, may present a conflict for the woman searching to find some unique definition of who she is and where she is going.

Value-Identity Concerns

An important aspect of the identity search, particularly in the post-adolescent college years, is the process of commitment to a set of values that will help provide direction to one's life, and define the standards in terms of which critical life decisions are made. For many students the college years are ones in which critical values are in a state of considerable flux, when students are questioning the values derived from their backgrounds, their parents, their early experiences, and attempting to define a set of values that they can see more as "their own." Particularly critical are values around ethical issues and moral standards.

Table II:8 presents the relationship between attitudes toward the Residential College and the extent to which the internal struggle over these value issues was a central concern of the college years. Two questions in the questionnaire were particularly oriented toward this issue. In Question 54 which presented the students with a list of "problems or crises" and asked them to indicate the extent to which each of these had been a crisis or a problem for them, three items were included which were particularly relevant to the student's questioning of his ethical and moral values. These items ("a questioning of my religious faith or beliefs"; "a questioning of my personal standards from meeting people with very different standards--of ways to act, sexual standards, moral behavior"; and "the shock of meeting people who seemed to know so much more than I, who were more cosmopolitan or had been around so much more than I") emerged as a single factor in the factor analysis of the responses to the items on Question 54 and were combined into the index "bothered by self-questioning of ethical and personal standards in college" that appears in Table II:8.

Table II:8 also presents the findings on a question dealing specifically with concerns over arriving at a set of standards in the sexual area (item e. in Question 111).

The findings in Table II:8 parallel those we have observed for the general questions on identity-searching in Table II:7. There is a very clear relationship for the men students; those who favor the Residential College indicate that they were much more involved in the process of questioning their moral and behavioral standards, and in the attempt to arrive at a set of values and guidelines in these areas. Among women students the relationship is much less clear and not statistically significant. This is further evidence of the appeal of the Residential College environment for men students heavily concerned with identity issues, and the much more ambivalent response of similarly minded women to that environment.

Feelings of "Fit" and Adequacy in Prospective Social Roles

A critical aspect of identity theory is that it comprises a set of concepts that relate the individual to his social world. Identity "problems" involve some lack of fit between the individual (his needs, capacities and directions) and his social world; identity resolutions involve some integration of the individual and his environment. "Healthy" identity resolutions do not necessarily imply conformity, but they do imply that the individual finds some place for himself in the world, and comes to terms with what he wants to do, the directions in which he wants to go. This issue is particularly critical in the college years, since they are transition years in which one is preparing to take one's place in the adult world, and to think through the ways in which one wishes to find expression

TABLE II-8

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Value-Identity Concerns

	Males			
	Favor RC	Uncertain	Do Not Favor RC	Never Heard of RC
	(N=98)	(N=115)	(N=166)	(N=175)
Bothered by Self-Questioning of Ethical and Personal Standards in College (Means on 10-point scale, 10=greatly bothered)	4.22	4.03	3.65	3.63
	F(all cols.) = 3.081, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.076, p = .05			
Concern Over Deciding About Sexual Standards (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very concerned)	2.93	3.17	3.30	3.23
	F(all cols.) = 3.994, p = .01 F(col.1 vs.3)=11.710, p = .001			
			Females	
	(N=71)	(N=116)	(N=218)	(N=205)
Bothered by Self-Questioning of Ethical and Personal Standards in College (Means on 10-point scale, 10= greatly bothered)	4.65	4.67	4.36	4.59
	F(all cols.) = 1.333, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.918, p = NS			
Concern Over Deciding About Sexual Standards (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very concerned)	2.57	2.55	2.57	2.74
	F(all cols.) = 1.267, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.000, p = NS			

in that world. A critical aspect of the identity issues with which a student grapples in the college years are issues involving his feelings of adequacy and fit with respect to the critical social roles he is performing, and those that he will fill in his life after college.

Question 111 of the questionnaire was particularly addressed to the student's feelings of adequacy or uncertainty in significant present and prospective roles. The question presented the student with a number of potential problem areas and asked him to rate the extent to which each of these had been a matter of concern to him in the past year or two. In the factor analysis the following five areas were delineated as separate factors:

> *Adequacy in the work role* (as measured by the item "Do I have what it takes to succeed in the world"?)
>
> *Adequacy in the friendship and interpersonal area* (as measured by the following two items: "popularity--will I be socially successful, be accepted by the groups I want to get into," and "getting along with members of the opposite sex--will I be able to hold the interest of boys (girls) I like?").
>
> *Concern about adequacy in marital and heterosexual role* (as measured by the following items: "whether I will get married--find someone I love and want to marry who wants to marry me," "whether I can have a happy and stable marriage," "whether anyone could love me enough to want to marry me," "whether I am capable of consistent and continuing love for one person").
>
> *Concern about adequacy in parental role* (as measured by the following items: "whether I want to have children," "whether I can accept the responsibility of being a parent," "whether I can raise happy and healthy children").
>
> *Concern about personality and "identity" adequacy*. This factor contained items relating not to a specific adult role, but rather more generally to one's adequacy as a person, including how well one was maturing and becoming an "adult." This was measured by the following items: "a feeling that I am always acting, never being true to myself or being myself," "whether I am developing normally," "social sensitivity, a feeling that I get hurt too easily," "having a bad temper, the fact that I get angry too often and too easily," "the fact that I don't seem to want to grow up".

The relationships between responses in these five areas and attitudes toward the Residential College are presented in Table II:9. The findings, particularly for the men students, show an interesting pattern. In the items measuring a generalized identity concern--concern about the direction in which one is going, how one is developing as a person--we find a statistically significant difference between men students who favor and those who do not favor the Residential College. Those favoring the Residential College express more concern. This is consistent with what we have observed in the findings on identity-searching in the preceding two tables. What is interesting is that this pattern of responses does not obtain when we look at the findings on feelings of adequacy in the four more specific role areas. There is a relationship with respect to the marital and heterosexual role,

TABLE II-9

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Concerns About Adequacy

	Males				Females			
Concerns About Adequacy	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Concern About Ability to Succeed (Means on 4-point scale, 1=high concern)	2.40	2.36	2.35	2.40	2.31	2.22	2.39	2.36
	F(all cols.) = 0.112, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.160, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.823, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.377, p=NS			
Concern About Social Popularity (Means on 7-point scale, 1=high concern)	4.54	4.67	4.57	4.59	4.28	4.21	4.45	4.53
	F(all cols.) = 0.124, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.024, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.066, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.573, p=NS			
Concern About Adequacy in Marital and Heterosexual Role (Means on 13-point scale, 1=high concern)	7.81	8.76	8.66	8.46	6.65	6.73	6.99	7.04
	F(all cols.) = 1.769, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.412, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 0.412, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.575, p=NS			
Concern About Adequacy in Parental Role (Means on 10-point scale, 1=high concern)	7.97	8.19	8.18	7.72	6.63	6.97	7.07	7.29
	F(all cols.) = 1.758, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.597, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.528, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.792, p=NS			
Concern About Personality and "Identity" Adequacy (Means on 16-point scale, 1=high concern)	12.07	13.05	12.92	12.57	11.56	12.20	12.29	12.01
	F(all cols.) = 2.745, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.494, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 1.264, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.444, p=NS			

where we find again that the men students favoring the Residential College are more self-questioning and concerned about their adequacy in this area. However, in the other three roles--the area of work and life success, the interpersonal and social role, the concern over how one will handle the parental role--we do not find any differences between the men students who favor and those who reject the Residential College. What these findings suggest, then, is that interest in an educational innovation like the Residential College is not related indiscriminately to feelings of self-questioning and inadequacy, but is rather related to self-questioning in a more specific sense. The focus of the men students favoring the Residential College is on issues of personal identity and the intimacy issues that are closely tied to identity development in the post-adolescent years. It is not, then, that the Residential College appeals to men who are just generally more insecure and self-questioning; rather, it appeals to those who are particularly focused on identity and intimacy issues, and the environment it promises is particularly addressed to those issues.[7]

Occupational Identity

For many college students, identity issues focus around the process of deciding on an occupation and career. Several questions were directed toward measuring this process and the students' concerns and involvement in this arena.

One important aspect of the process of occupational choice from an identity perspective is the degree of comfort and certainty one feels in one's choice, the degree of "fit" that one feels between one's self and the choice one is making. We attempted to measure this in the index referred to in Table II:10 as "degree of certainty about vocational choice". This included the responses to four questions of the questionnaire: the degree of certainty about one's occupational choice (Question 73); the feeling that the choice expresses one's special interests (Question 77) and fits one's particular skills and abilities (Question 78); and the feeling that the choice represents something one really wants to do as opposed to some compromise of one's central interests and involvements (Question 82).

Another aspect of this area tapped in the questionnaire was the degree of involvement and investment the student had in the actual choice and decision process. We assume that this involvement in the choice process reflects the extent to which the career choice represented a salient identity issue in the college years. This was measured by two parallel questions. One asked about the process of arriving at a decision about college major; the other asked directly about the occupational choice (Questions 10 and 75). For both major and occupation, the student was asked whether the decision was something he had thought about a great deal, whether it was something he had not thought about much but was fairly certain he wished to do, or whether it was something that he had "pretty much just drifted into." The findings on this index also appear in Table II:10.

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[7] Again, it may be noted that these distinctions are less clear for the women students.

Finally, we were also interested in the extent to which the vocational area had been something that the student not only thought about a great deal, but something that had been particularly problematic for him: whether arriving at a vocational decision had been an issue of difficulty and great concern (Question 54, Item f), and whether problems in this area had been so serious during college that the student either went for help with them or felt he should have gone (Question 40).

It is interesting in Table II:10 that the clearest relationship between these occupational identity questions and attitudes toward the Residential College occurs one the question which asked whether these concerns had constituted a serious problem. This was clearly true for a larger proportion of the people who favored the Residential College, a relationship that was statistically significant for both the men and the women. The wording of the question on which these results were obtained (Question 40) is illuminating: "Have you ever experienced any vocational problems during your years at Michigan--for example, confusion about what you want to do, uncertainty about your aptitude for particular occupations, concern over differences with your parents about your occupational interest--about which you feel you should or would have liked to talk to someone?" The wording of this question clearly casts the vocational problem within the context of broader identity issues and concerns. It stresses the identity aspects of the occupational decision. The other questions which do not stress the broader identity implications as much, do not show statistical differences, at least for the men students. Thus, the findings in Table II:10 are consistent with the others we have noted in the identity area. It is the very general identity issues that are particularly relevant to students interested in the Residential College, not the concerns in the more specific identity-role areas.

The findings for the women students in Table II:10 are particularly interesting and merit some special note. In contrast to the preceding tables, we find in Table II:10 that the women do not show less relationships with attitudes toward the Residential College. If anything, the relationships are somewhat more striking for the women students: for example, responses to the questions measuring the extent to which students thought about their decision in the vocational area are significantly related to feelings about the Residential College for the women students but not for the men. The women students who favor the Residential College indicate much more thought and weighing of decisions in this area. These findings suggest that the process of vocational choice for college women, raising as it does issues of potential conflict between career aspirations and more traditional feminine role expectations, has more generalized identity implications and problems for women than for men students.

Impulse Expression

The findings with respect to one other concept in the personality area might be noted briefly. While many of the personality developmental issues explored in this and other studies have been cast within an identity framework, others have been viewed within a more traditional psycho-dynamic theoretical framework, particularly in the work of Sanford and his colleagues (Sanford, 1962; Katz, 1968). A dominant concern in this group has been the

TABLE II-10

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Occupational Identity Concerns

Occupational Identity Concerns	Males Favor RC (N=98)	 Uncertain (N=115)	 Do Not Favor RC (N-166)	 Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Females Favor RC (N=71)	 Uncertain (N=116)	 Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	 Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Degree of Certainty About Vocational Choice (Means on 17-point scale, 17=high)	12.34	13.04	12.98	13.10	12.21	12.53	12.67	13.20
	F(all cols.) = 1.556, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.569, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.569, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.193, p=NS			
Degree of Thought Over Major and Vocational Decisions (Means on 5-point scale, 5=high)	4.19	3.96	4.14	3.90	4.17	4.03	3.82	3.85
	F(all cols.) = 2.310, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.235, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.262, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.540, p=.05			
Bothered by Difficulty in Arriving at Vocational Decision (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	3.39	3.58	3.62	3.63	3.32	3.36	3.58	3.75
	F(all cols.) = 1.275, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.164, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 4.510, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.897, p=NS			
Proportion Who Experienced Serious Vocational Problems During College	63%	46%	48%	45%	67%	58%	52%	44%
	Chi^2 (all cols) = 9.604, df = 3, p = .05 Chi^2 (col 1 vs. 3) =5.042,df=1,P=.05				Chi^2 (all cols) = 13.419, df = 3, p = .01 Chi^2 (col 1 vs. 3)=4.093,df=1,P=.05			

issue of impulsivity and the need for people in the early post-adolescent years to learn to integrate impulse expression with ego control.

One of the scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory was developed particularly to deal with this issue. This "Impulse Expression" scale is defined in the OPI Manual as follows:

> Impulse Expression: This scale assesses a general readiness to express impulses and to seek gratification either in conscious thought or in overt action. The high scorers value sensations, have an active imagination and their thinking is often dominated by feelings and fantasies.

We expected that favoring the Residential College would be related to higher scores on the impulse expression scale, that students higher in impulsivity would prefer the somewhat more unstructured personal and affect-relevant environment that educational innovations like the Residential College provide. As evident in Table II:11, however, there is no relationship between impulse expression and attitudes toward the Residential College for the women students; and the relationship for the men, while in the expected direction, is not statistically significant. We will see in Chapter III that impulse expression is related to political activism, and will comment on the possible meaning of these findings at that time.[8]

Family Relationships

We have noted that much of the research on the student critics of the university has focused on the student's background characteristics and parental relationships. This has been particularly of interest in the study of student political activists, whose critique of society (and the university as a representation of society) has often been viewed as an expression of the continuities and conflicts between the students and their parents. It is interesting that the research that has taken this perspective has varied greatly in its sympathies with student activism. Some have used this orientation as a way of analyzing the institutional critique as a displacement and acting out of family conflicts, a process of psychologizing that effectively tends to discount the meaning of the critique as a valid commentary on defects in our institutions. But the familial background of student activists has also been of interest to observers and researchers like Flacks (1967) and Keniston (1968) who have been interested in these issues as a way of placing the movement in its appropriate generational and historical context.

These parental and generational relationships are of more interest in the analysis of the socio-political criticism of the student activists than of the educational critique being examined in this chapter. We will be particularly concerned with some of these issues in our more specialized and intensive analysis of student activism in Chapter IV. But given the great focus on such issues in the literature, it may also be of some interest to look at them briefly in this chapter, particularly in the comparative context with the analysis of student activism in Chapter III.

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[8] See discussion around Table III:13 in Chapter III.

TABLE II-11

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Impulse Expression

	Males			
	Favor RC	Uncertain	Do Not Favor RC	Never Heard of RC
	(N=98)	(N=115)	(N=166)	(N=175)
Impulse Expression Scale of the OPI (Means on 33-point scale, 33=high)	18.76	17.59	17.84	18.63

F(all cols.) = 1.437, p = NS
F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.534, p = NS

	Females			
	(N=71)	(N=116)	(N=218)	(N=205)
Impulse Expression Scale of the OPI (Means on 33-point scale, 33=high)	16.20	15.40	16.10	16.15

F(all cols.) = 0.499, p = NS
F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.016, p = NS

The students' relationships with their parents were tapped in a number of questions in the senior questionnaire. Three issues were of particular interest: the *closeness* with the parents, the *influence* the parents still exerted on the student, and the degree of *value agreement and disagreement* between student and parents. The relationship between the student's responses to some of these issues and his attitudes toward the Residential College are presented in Table II:12. The indices in this table were measured in the following ways:

> *Closeness to father and mother* was measured in two questions (Part III, Questions 23 and 24) which asked the students how close they felt to each parent and how well they felt each parent understood them. Closeness to parents was also tapped in Question 55 which asked students how ready they were to take critical personal concerns and problems to their parents.
>
> *The parents' influence* over the students was measured in two questions (Question 12 and 83) which asked how important the mother and father were in the students' choice of a major in college and in the decision to go into the occupation they were contemplating going into.
>
> *Value disagreement* with parents was measured in a question (Part III, Question 25) which asked the students to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with their mother and father on a number of issues--"values about what's important in life", "political beliefs", "people I've dated", etc. Each of these issues was rated on a three-point scale for degree of disagreement and summarized into two indices, one for father and one for mother. In addition students were asked whether any of these disagreements had developed since they came to college, whether the differences were due to the ways they had changed during their years at college (Part III, Question 26).

The relationships of the responses on these measures to attitudes toward the Residential College are presented in Table II:12. With only one or two exceptions (the women students' feelings of closeness to their mother and their readiness to talk with their parents about problems) the relationships tend to show that students who favor the Residential College are somewhat more distant from their parents--that is, they feel less close, less influenced by them, and more in disagreement on some central values. However, the differences are not large and, with only a couple of exceptions, are not statistically significant. It might also be noted that the differences that do appear occur somewhat more strikingly and consistently (although even here usually not statistically significant) in the area of value disagreement rather than emotional closeness. We have seen in the preceding sections that the students' desire for a more innovative educational experience is related to a more general set of ideological positions that tend to be more liberal and non-conformist (particularly for the men students). It is not surprising, then, that students favoring the Residential College should feel a certain amount of value disagreement with their parents, or that the disagreement should be fairly salient and current as indicated in the fact that the students who favor the Residential College more often feel that their disagreements developed as a function of what they were going

TABLE II-12

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Relationship with Parents

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Closeness to Father (Means on 7-point scale, 1=close)	4.04	3.76	3.72	3.36	3.94	3.65	3.49	3.41
	F(all cols.) = 3.945, p = .01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.589, p = NS				F(All cols.) = 1.767, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.333, p = NS			
Closeness to Mother (Means on 7-point scale, 1=close)	3.62	3.60	3.56	3.30	3.17	3.17	3.21	2.92
	F(all cols.) = 1.369, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.094, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 1.238, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.030, p = NS			
Parental Influence on Career Choice (Means on 17-point scale, 17=high influence)	4.67	4.82	5.26	5.52	4.82	4.95	5.09	5.72
	F(all cols.) = 1.634, p = NS F(Col.1 vs.3)= 1.770, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 1.918, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.334, p = NS			
Readiness to Talk with Parents About Problems (Means on 9-point scale, 9=high)	5.57	5.62	5.73	5.87	6.41	6.22	6.36	6.63
	F(all cols.) = 0.309, p = NS F(Col.1 vs.3)= 0.195, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 0.651, p = NS F(Col.1 vs.3)= 0.021, p = NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE II-12 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Relationship with Parents

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Value Disagreement with Father (Means on 17-point scale, 17=high disagreement)	5.81	4.67	4.84	4.56	5.70	5.32	5.10	4.48
	F(all cols.) = 4.232, p = .01 F(Col.1 vs.3)= 6.603, p = .05				F(all cols.) = 3.610, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.966, p = NS			
Value Disagreement with Mother (Means on 17-point scale, 17=high disagreement)	5.51	4.96	4.75	4.86	5.50	4.73	4.86	4.53
	F(all cols.) = 1.485, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.823, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 2.062, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.873, p = NS			
Experienced Problems with Parents During College (Means on 7-point scale, 7=problems)	2.01	2.14	1.91	1.90	2.67	2.12	2.11	2.17
	F(all cols.) = 0.859, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.354, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 2.824, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 7.167, p = .01			
Proportion Who Feel that Disagreements with Parents Developed During College	47%	37%	33%	30%	51%	49%	39%	34%
	Chi^2(all cols.) = 8.520, df = 3, p=.05 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 4.270, df = 1, p=.05				Chi^2(all cols.) =10.647, df=3, p=.05 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 2.467, df=1, p=NS			

through during the college years. It is perhaps more interesting that these value disagreements do not necessarily imply any emotional estrangement from the parents. Whatever generational conflict these students are reflecting seems to be fairly well confined to the ideological and value area, without the overly personalized intensities that have so often been hypothesized in the analysis of the relationships of the political activists.

Reactions to the Multiversity Experience

We have been interested in the preceding analyses of the personal and ideological characteristics of students interested in the Residential College, because they indirectly suggest the kinds of things students are looking for in the Residential College and, by implication, what they found lacking in their four years at a multiversity. In the remainder of this chapter we will look somewhat more directly at their criticisms of their college experience by looking more specifically at the relationships between reactions to different aspects of this experience, and attitudes to the Residential College.

Overall Satisfactions with College

Before looking at students' reactions to specific aspects of their college experience, we may note the relationship between attitudes to the Residential College and some overall measures of the student's satisfaction with that experience. Table II:13 presents the relationship with two such measures. One was a straightforward question (Question 45) which asked the students how satisfied they were that they came to the University of Michigan rather than some other school. We would obviously expect the seniors who said they would have preferred a Residential College experience to indicate somewhat more dissatisfaction in response to this question, and Table II:13 indicates that this is indeed the case.

Of more interest in Table II:13 is the relationship with another question which tried to get a more intense reaction to the college experience than is implied in the word "satisfaction", by measuring the extent to which the college experience was something exciting, new and different (Question 44). Here we find that there is no difference between students who differed in their attitudes toward the Residential College. Despite their greater dissatisfaction with many aspects of their experience at the multiversity, the seniors who favored the Residential College did not find their experience any less exciting or "big and new" than did the students more satisfied with their college experience. In short, the fact that they are more satisfied and not looking for a different college experience does not mean that those satisfied with the multiversity got "more" from college. To a considerable extent their greater satisfaction seems to be function of the fact that they are looking for less in the college experience, that they are not as interested in finding a college experience that will be excitingly different, that will stimulate them to new ways of thinking and looking at the world, as are those students who as seniors look back on their multiversity experience and find something

TABLE II-13

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Satisfaction with College

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Satisfaction with Choice of College (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very satisfied)	1.69	1.51	1.46	1.50	1.64	1.47	1.37	1.44
	F(all cols.) = 2.548, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 7.551, p = .01				F(all cols.) = 3.810, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)=10.549, p = .01			
Perception of College as "big and new" Experience (Means on 3-point scale, 1="very big and new")	2.13	2.37	2.13	2.26	2.09	2.11	2.09	2.11
	F(all cols.) = 2.932, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.000, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 0.037, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.006, p = NS			

lacking, something that might have been better fulfilled in a different type of educational setting. Conversely, the fact that the seniors who favor the Residential College are more dissatisfied does not mean that they "got less" from their college experience, but that they were looking for more, that they were looking to their college experience for an intensity and excitement that they did not find completely fulfilled. These speculations lead us more directly to the issue of the impact of the four-year experience on the students in our sample. This will be examined in more detail in the following section.

The Impact of the College Experience

The criteria for judging the meaningfulness of a college experience are complex. They involve not only the degree of cognitive learning, but the impact of the college experience on an individual's attitudes, values and personal development. There is a good deal of controversy over the types and areas of change that should be viewed as criteria of a "successful" college experience, but most observers would agree that the meaningfulness of a college experience should be evidenced in some kinds of individual change, that students should be different in some significant ways than they were as entering freshmen four years earlier, or than they would have been if they had not undergone the college experience. Beyond the rather palid issue of "satisfaction" with the college experience, then, we were interested in relating attitudes toward the Residential College to some indices of the meaningfulness and impact of the college experience. Is the desire for a different kind of educational experience related to the feeling that one has had a rather barren educational experience in the multiversity; or does it occur among students whose four year experience has represented a great deal of meaning and change, a change which reflects the fact that these students are particularly sensitive to and open to the influences of college, and therefore desirous of a potentially even more stimulating experience?

We explored this issue in a number of questions which asked the seniors in our study about the changes they felt they had undergone as a result of their four-year college experience. The relationships between the responses to these questions and attitudes toward the Residential College are presented in Table II:14. The table includes the following indices which measure the student's feelings of very general overall changes as well as his feelings about change in specific areas:

> Self-perceived value and personal change: An index consisting of two questions (Question 51 and 52) which asked students how much they felt they had changed in their beliefs and values, and how much they had changed in "the kind of person" they were.
>
> Self-perceived increase in political interest and liberalism: An index consisting of three items (Question 53, Items f, g and n) which measured the extent to which the student felt college had brought an increased interest in politics and world affairs, an increasing concern about social issues and problems, and an increasing liberalism in political attitudes.

Self-perceived change in religious and sexual values: An index consisting of three items (Question 53, Items j, k and l) which measured the feeling that college had brought a liberalization in the moral and ethical area as measured by the student's feeling that he had much less acceptance of traditional and formal religious commitments and much more liberal and non-traditional values in the sexual area.

Self-perceived change in clarity of life goals: An index consisting of two items (Question 53, Items a and i) indicating the student's feeling that college had helped him clarify some of his major life directions, specifically his occupational plans and his life goals.

Self-perceived change in academic-intellectual interest: An index consisting of three items (Question 53, Items b, d, and e) which measured the extent to which the student felt his college years had brought increased interest in learning and involvement in studying.

As indicated in Table II:14 it tends to be the students who favor the Residential College, rather than the students more satisfied with their multiversity experience who feel that college was a period of great change for them. Students who want the Residential College more often feel that the college years were a period of general value and personal change for them; more specifically, they also more often feel that college was a liberalizing experience for them in the sense of producing more liberal attitudes in the area of religion and personal morality as well as in the political sphere. (Again, consistent with many previously-noted findings, these relationships are more striking for the men than for the women, particularly the questions on the perceptions of changes in a liberal direction.)

It should be noted that the students favoring the Residential College are not more often saying that they changed in all areas. As indicated in Table II:14, they do not more often feel that they changed in the sense of acquiring a greater clarity in their life goals. Indeed, as we noted previously, the students favoring the Residential College tend to be the identity-searchers; we would not expect them to be people who felt unusually certain and clear in their life directions. Also, they did not more often feel that they changed in the direction of greater intellectual and academic interest. Since, as we will note later, students who favor the Residential College do seem to have objectively changed more in these areas when their freshman and senior scores are compared, the fact that they do not more often feel they underwent such changes is probably a reflection of the fact that those favoring the Residential College have higher intellectual standards. They are therefore somewhat dissatisfied with the intellectual experience that the university offered them, a dissatisfaction that counteracts the fact that objectively they do seem to have become more intellectually open and involved.

In general, then, although it is not an all-inclusive feeling encompassing all significant areas, the feeling that the college experience has had a meaningful impact on one, seems to occur more often among students dissatisfied with that experience rather than those relatively satisfied and less interested in a different type of experience. We were also interested in whether this was true not only for the students' perceptions

TABLE II-14

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Change During College Years

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Self-Perceived Changes								
Self-Perceived Value and Personal Change (Means on a 7-point scale, 7=high change)	5.22	4.84	4.68	4.75	5.65	5.08	5.12	4.88
	F(all cols.) = 3.447, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 9.576, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 5.982, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 9.661, p=.01			
Self-Perceived Increase in Political Interest and Liberalism (Means on 13-point scale, 13=increased interest)	9.89	9.13	9.10	9.15	9.78	9.50	9.32	9.11
	F(all cols.) = 4.186, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)=10.114, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 2.658, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.058, p=NS			
Self-Perceived Change in Religious and Sexual Values (Means on 13-point scale, 13= increased traditionalism)	4.37	4.97	5.09	5.15	4.77	4.80	5.01	5.13
	F(All cols.) = 3.395, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.627, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 0.881, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.646, p=NS			
Self-Perceived Change in Clarity of Life Goals (Means on 9-point scale, 9=greater clarity)	6.57	6.65	6.90	6.94	7.03	7.04	6.91	7.25
	F(all cols.) = 1.475, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.245, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.514, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.252, p=NS			

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TABLE II-14 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Change During College Years

Self-Perceived Changes (cont.)	Males Favor RC (N=98)	Males Uncertain (N=115)	Males Do Not Favor RC (N-166)	Males Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Females Favor RC (N=71)	Females Uncertain (N=116)	Females Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Females Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Self-Perceived Change in Academic-Intellectual Interest (Means on 13-point scale, 13=greater interest)	9.12	8.90	9.06	9.53	8.80	9.64	8.98	9.29
	F(all cols.) = 2.512, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.047, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 3.380, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.324, p= NS			
Freshman-Senior Objective Changes								
Change in Complexity Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	+1.67	+0.01	-0.18	-0.02	+1.46	+0.75	-0.24	-0.70
	F(all cols.) = 4.015, p=.01 F(Col.1 vs.3)= 9.963, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 5.190, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.904, p=.01			
Change in Aestheticism Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	+1.16	-0.40	-0.82	-0.89	+0.77	+0.77	+0.30	+0.27
	F(all cols.) = 5.638, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=13.246, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 0.784, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.842, p=NS			
Change in Thinking Introversion Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	+1.57	0.00	+0.12	-0.26	+1.20	+0.48	-0.02	-0.88
	F(all cols.) = 4.454, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 8.325, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 5.868, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.250, p=.05			

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TABLE II-14 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Change During College Years

Freshman-Senior Objective Changes (cont.)	Males Favor RC (N=98)	Males Uncertain (N=115)	Males Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Males Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Females Favor RC (N=71)	Females Uncertain (N=116)	Females Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Females Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Change in Theoretical Orientation Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	+1.23	+0.57	+0.63	0.00	+0.14	+0.28	-0.06	-0.95
	F(all cols.) = 2.180, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.500, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.880, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.138, p=NS			
Change in Social Maturity Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Score)	+1.80	+0.47	-0.24	-0.57	+0.51	+0.97	+0.15	-0.88
	F(all cols.) = 7.173, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=14.691, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 5.299, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.391, p=NS			
Change in Religious Liberalism Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	+1.25	+0.89	-0.27	-0.24	+0.44	+0.63	-0.07	-0.31
	F(all cols.) = 5.063, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 8.982, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 1.444, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.790, p=NS			
Change in Impulse Expression Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	+1.17	-0.32	+0.44	+0.65	-0.04	+0.01	-0.44	-0.25
	F(all cols.) = 1.924, p=NS F(Col.1 vs.3)= 1.427, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.269, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.355, p=NS			

of change, but for freshman-senior change as objectively measured. While examining the relationships between attitudes toward the Residential College and freshmen-senior changes on all the indices in this study was beyond the scope of this report, we have chosen the objective changes on the seven scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory as representing some particularly critical areas of change. The OPI was specifically developed to study change in college, and includes measures of values, interests, and cognitive-intellectual styles that most educators would hope to see changing and developing in the college years. (Complexity, Aestheticism, Thinking Introversion and Theoretical Orientation measure intellectual and cognitive styles and interests; Social Maturity, Impulse Expression and Religious Liberalism were designed to measure the increasing flexibility, openness and non-traditionalism that many would hope represented the liberating effects of a college education.)

Table II:14 presents the relationship between attitudes toward the Residential College and freshman-senior changes on the seven OPI scales. Change was measured by residual change scores which were computed from regression equations, taking into account the initial position as freshmen on these scales. The change scores are expressed in relative terms; that is, a positive score means one changed more than the average in the population that started from the same freshman position; a negative score means that one changed less than the average.

In general, the findings in Table II:14 on objectively measured freshman-to-senior changes, parallel those on self-perception of changes presented in the first part of the Table. Again we find differences in most areas, between those who do and those who do not favor the Residential College; and in all instances where there are significant differences, we find that those who favor the Residential College demonstrate the greater freshman-to-senior change. Those students who have been more affected by the college experience, who have changed more in the direction of increased intellectual interests and liberalization of attitudes and values, are those who emerge more dissatisfied with their college experience and more interested in the kind of educational innovation represented by the Residential College.

When we distinguish among the seven OPI scales according to whether or not statistically significant differences appear in Table II:14, we see that the results on change are consistent with the senior attitudinal differences that we have discussed in preceding sections; that is, those favoring and not favoring the Residential College differ significantly in the amount of change they have undergone in just those areas where we previously observed that they differ in the values and attitudes they hold as seniors. We noted above (see Table II:11) that students favoring and not favoring the Residential College did not differ in their scores on the impulse expression scale; we see now in Table II:14 that they also do not differ in the extent to which they changed in impulse expression between their freshman and senior years. We presented data suggesting that seniors who favored the Residential College tended to be more intellectually oriented as measured by the Complexity, Aestheticism and Thinking Introversion scales (see Table II:2) and also more liberal, flexible and open as measured by the Social Maturity and Religious Liberalism scales (see Table II:5);

we see now in Table II:14 that they also changed more on these scales during their college years. Finally, we have observed that these relationships were stronger and more striking for the men students than for the women students; Table II:14 now indicates that the findings on change are also more striking for the men than for the women. While on all seven scales of the OPI the women students who favor the Residential College changed more than those not favoring the Residential College, the differences are not as striking as they are for the men and in only two of the cases are they statistically significant. Among the men the differences are clear and statistically significant on five scales.

What then does Table II:14 add to our preceding findings that the more intellectual and liberally oriented students tend to be more attracted to the Residential College? The crucial point made by the data presented in Table II:14 is that these attitudes and values to some extent developed during college, that the multiversity experience helped promote the very attitudes and values that made the students turn from the University. In a sense, the students who got most from the multiversity college experience, who were most open to it and more reactive to it and "successful" in the sense of developing intellectual and liberalizing values that are important outcomes of a college education, ended up as those students most critical of the experience.[9]

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[9] It should be noted that in stressing the fact that students favoring the Residential College changed more in intellectual interests and liberal attitudes and values, we do not mean to imply that they did not differ in these respects as freshmen. It is possible that the differences among the seniors in these attitudes and values could be a function of both initial differences as freshmen and differential changes during the college years. This would be an example of the principle of accentuation. Feldman and Newcomb (1969) have noted as a fairly generally principle, that the impact of the college experience seems to be such as to accentuate the differences that students bring with them as entering freshmen. This hypothesis was checked by examining the entering freshman scores on the OPI scales of the students who later as seniors differed in their attitudes toward the Residential College. When we look at the entering freshmen scores on the five OPI scales which later showed differences both in change and in senior scores for those favoring and not favoring the Residential College, we find an interesting distinction between the scales measuring intellectuality and the scales measuring liberal values. The students who later indicated that they would have preferred the Residential College were already more intellectually oriented as entering freshmen, than were those students who later indicated that they would not be interested in the Residential College. Again this is more clear for the men than for the women students. As entering freshmen, the men students who later indicated they would favor the Residential College, were significantly different from those who later rejected the Residential College on all three of the intellectual scales: Complexity, Aestheticism and Thinking Introversion; among the women students, the same differences appeared on all three scales, although the difference was statistically significant only on the Aestheticism scale. On the Social Maturity and Religious Liberalism scales there were no significant differences as entering freshmen between those who later differed in their

What are the implications of these findings for any attempt to evaluate the meaningfulness of the multiversity experience? In one light one might say that these findings are a sign of the "success" of the experience at this multiversity in that it helped develop students to the point where they were ready for something else. On the other hand, the findings might be interpreted as pointing up the limitations of the multiversity experience, in that the criticism comes from those students who are most involved in and committed to some of the basic goals of the University. Either interpretation underscores the seriousness of the critique.

There is a tendency among some observers to discount the criticism of educational institutions that comes from students--whether the criticism takes an educational or political activist form--by suggesting that it comes from those who are not involved in the educational and intellectual enterprise, in some cases even that it comes from people who are non-students rather than students. The findings from research on political activism have tended to contradict such observations by pointing to the fact that the activists tend to be the most involved and best achieving students. The findings we have been discussing suggest that educational innovation is also most attractive to students not only more intellectually involved and open, but those who are interested in utilizing a university experience to further those ends.

Academic Experiences

A student's reactions to his academic experiences in college can best be understood in terms of the expectations and desires he brings to these experiences. Before examining our data on the students' academic involvements and reactions to the classes they experienced, it may be helpful to look at their responses to a question that attempted to get at the type of academic experiences they preferred.

A major aspect of the criticisms of universities as learning environments is the lack of opportunity they provide for individual initiative and self-directed learning. The issue is not just the narrow one of "faculty vs. student control" but rather the broader issue of a structured and pre-determined curriculum vs. one that is open and individually directed. The student's position on these issues was tapped in a question (Question 4) which presented the student with a set of scales contrasting different types of classes, and asked him to indicate the degree of his preference for one or the other of the contrasting types. The issue of structuredness vs. openness was presented in several aspects: the type

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attitudes toward the Residential College. In short, the intellectualism that served as an ideological underpinning for the desire for the Residential College, was a product of both entering predispositions and the influences of the four-year college experience; the liberal values that also served as an ideological support for this interest, seem to be more exclusively a function of the four-year development in college. But in both instances, as we have noted, regardless of the entering predispositions, the interest in the Residential College is related to change and development in these areas during the college years.

of examinations (essay tests vs. objective tests), the issue of student initiation vs. faculty control (for example, "professors leave it up to the students to keep up with the work" vs. "Professors regularly check up on the students to make sure that assignments are being carried out properly"), the presentation of a clear point of view and clear requirements as opposed to a class that encourages the student to determine his own assignments and arrive at his own point of view.

The relationships between the responses to this question and attitudes toward the Residential College are presented in Table II:15. On every one of the six comparisons presented in Table II:15 for both men students and women students, those in favor of the Residential College are more strongly in favor of the classroom alternative that represents the greater autonomy and openness of class structure. It is also interesting to note, however, that the relationships are clearer on certain items than on others. The differences between those who favor and do not favor the Residential College are not statistically significant on the two most obvious autonomy items: the item which contrasted "required attendance for class" with "attendance not required", and the one which contrasted "professors leave it up to the students to keep up with the work" with "professors regularly check up on the students to make sure that assignments are being carried out properly and on time". The differences are much clearer and in all cases statistically significant (for the men) on the other four items, which get more generally at the issue of class structuredness vs. openness. The main issue for the students who want the Residential College seems to be the desire for a more open structure in the classroom, one which permits more testing out and self-discovery, rather than the issue of student versus faculty control in a more direct power sense. We will see in a later discussion that students who favor the Residential College are more often looking for faculty figures to serve as models for them, so the issue is not one of student autonomy in the narrow sense. What the students who favor the Residential College want in a classroom is an atmosphere that promotes exploration--discussion classes, essay tests, a class that presents many viewpoints, one that does not present clearly structured requirements and expectations. This open atmosphere is usually a very central aspect of educational experiments like the Residential College, and Table II:15 suggests that this is one of the important aspects that draws a student to it.

As a final comment, we may again note that these relationships are more striking for the men than for the women students. While the tendencies for the women are in the same direction, only in the choice of essay tests over objective tests are the women students who differ in their attitudes toward the Residential College significantly different in their classroom preferences. These sex-differences are consistent with previous findings which explored the issue of "openness" from other perspectives, for example the relationship between attitudes toward the residential college and identity-searching orientations, where we also noted that the relationship was stronger for the men than for the women students.

These findings on the students' classroom preferences were further supported by the students' responses to a question that asked them to rank their interests in different academic areas (Question 2). As presented in Table II:16, the more clearly defined and structured disciplinary areas

TABLE II-15

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Desire for Classroom Structure and Faculty Control

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Classroom Preferences (Mean Scores on seven point scales, 1=desire for structure and faculty control)								
Essay tests - objective tests	4.09	3.94	3.51	3.52	4.73	4.25	4.07	4.01
	F(all cols.) = 3.172, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.921, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 3.004, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.824, p=.01			
Attendance required - Not required	6.00	5.62	5.83	5.71	5.79	5.74	5.77	5.41
	F(all cols.) = 1.124, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.699, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.921, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.005, p=NS			
Professors "check up" - Do not "check up"	4.45	4.34	4.29	4.19	4.73	4.23	4.41	4.27
	F(all cols.) = 0.422, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.454, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.433, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.803, p=NS			
Clear point of view presented - Different approaches presented	5.17	4.68	4.68	4.44	5.18	5.10	4.82	4.56
	F(all cols.) = 3.301, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.859, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 2.966, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.935, p=NS			

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TABLE II-15 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Desire for Classroom Structure and Faculty Control

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Classroom Preferences (cont.)								
Requirements stressed-Student's independence stressed	3.71	2.87	2.78	2.48	3.11	2.54	2.72	2.34
	F(all cols.) =10.580, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=16.661, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 3.692, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.401, p=NS			
Lectures - Discussions	5.31	4.53	4.38	4.17	4.54	4.26	4.04	3.80
	F(all cols.) = 8.328, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=16.662, p=.001				F(all cols.) = 3.093, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.402, p=NS			

TABLE II-16

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Preferences for Academic Areas

	Males				
	Favor RC (N=96)	Uncertain (N=113)	Do Not Favor RC (N=161)	Never Heard of RC (N=173)	Significance Tests
Academic Areas Mean Ranking Given To: (5 Ranks, 1=High)					
Natural Sciences	3.07	2.74	2.62	2.78	F(all cols.) = 2.318, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 7.518, p=.01
Humanities	1.89	2.28	2.52	2.41	F(all cols.) = 6.659, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=22.895, p=.001
Social Sciences	2.08	2.12	2.09	2.18	F(all cols.) = 0.231, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.000, p=NS
Mathematics	4.03	3.87	3.52	3.52	F(all cols.) = 5.206, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 9.828, p=.01
Foreign Languages	3.94	3.97	4.24	4.08	F(all cols.) = 2.316, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.372, p=.05
			Females		
	(N=72)	(N=114)	(N=213)	(N=202)	
Natural Sciences	3.24	3.38	3.37	3.36	F(all cols.) = 0.218, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.505, p=NS

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TABLE II-16 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Preferences for Academic Areas

	Females				
Academic Areas (Cont.)	Favor RC (N=72)	Uncertain (N=114)	Do Not Favor RC (N=213)	Never Heard of RC (N=202)	Significance Tests
Humanities	1.61	1.84	1.93	1.89	F(all cols.) = 1.989, p=NS F(Col.1 vs.3)= 6.302, p=.05
Social Sciences	2.40	2.24	2.28	2.33	F(all cols.) = 0.369, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.593, p=NS
Mathematics	4.28	4.33	4.08	4.18	F(all cols.) = 1.568, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.778, p=NS
Foreign Languages	3.46	3.18	3.34	3.24	F(all cols.) = 1.075, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.492, p=NS

(natural sciences and mathematics) were ranked more highly by the students who do not favor the Residential College (again, this applies to the men students not the women). The looser and more open humanities area was preferred by the students who favor the Residential College. It is interesting that the social sciences were not given higher rankings by the students favoring the Residential College. Since students interested in the social sciences tend to be less traditional and more liberal politically, and we have seen that these values are related to a favorable attitude toward the Residential College, we might have expected those interested in the social sciences to prefer the Residential College. However, on the issue of openness versus structure, the social sciences fall somewhere between the humanities and the natural sciences and the lack of differences presented in Table II:16 reflect this middle position. The fact that the Residential College has a special appeal for students interested in the humanities but not particularly for those involved in social sciences also is consistent with previously-noted findings that a favorable attitude toward the Residential College reflects a very broad and general intellectual and aesthetic orientation.

With these data on academic preferences as a backdrop, Table II:17 presents the findings on a number of questions on the students' reactions to their actual academic experiences at the university, particularly the classes that they took. These questions covered a number of different aspects of these experiences:

> One question (Question 1) presented a number of statements representing different reactions to courses taken at the university, and asked the student to indicate how often he had had these reactions. The responses to two of the items in this question ("I found the courses interesting" and "I found the courses dull") are presented in Table II:17. The table also presents the findings on an index built from three highly interrelated items in this question which tapped the extent to which the courses were unusually stimulating, evocative and productive of "active" learning ("I found the courses not only interesting but very exciting and stimulating", "I had long discussions with friends about ideas that the courses stimulated," and "I was stimulated to do reading or other work beyond the course requirements"). In another attempt to get at the extent to which courses provided this special stimulation, one question (Question 3) asked the student how many of the courses he had taken stood out as unusually meaningful experiences.
>
> Question 26 in the questionnaire presented the student with a long list of statements asking him to check the extent to which he felt the statement was or was not characteristic of Michigan. In a factor analysis of these statements, two items emerged as a separate factor particularly relevant to the academic reactions of the student. These were Items 16 and 25 of Question 26, which measured the extent to which the students felt the course standards were low and not challenging. This index is particularly relevant to the concerns in this chapter, because one might expect that the intellectually-oriented students looking for a more meaningful intellectual experience in the Residential College would have been particularly critical of their university academic experiences as unstimulating and unchallenging.

The last two entries in Table II:17 are taken from the question asking for ratings on the significance of different university experiences. (Question 25) Two of these were particularly relevant to the academic experience, "classroom work--lectures, reading, classroom discussions" and "individual study, research, writing, art work." It was hypothesized that students interested in the Residential College would have seen individual study as particularly significant and would have assigned less significance to more traditional "classroom work."

Turning to the findings in Table II:17, we see that except in two instances (and then only among the men students) the differences between those favoring and not favoring the Residential College are not statistically significant. But the two differences that are significant (the men favoring the Residential College more often see the courses both as unusually stimulating and as dull) as well as other tendencies in the data, present a somewhat paradoxical but consistent picture. The students who favor the Residential College are more involved in the intellectual enterprise. They indicate a greater possibility for being excited and "turned on" by the academic experience, particularly its capacity to stimulate self-directed academic effort. This is evidenced in the findings or tendencies in the data for more of the students who favor the Residential College to indicate that they have had some unusually meaningful course experiences, to feel that courses have stimulated outside discussion and self-initiated work, to say that individual study has constituted a particularly significant aspect of their college experience. But this greater involvement in the academic area also brings a greater disappointment: the students favoring the Residential College more often find the courses dull and more often feel that the Michigan academic atmosphere doesn't challenge the student to his fullest abilities. Thus, the lack of many clear statistically significant findings in Table II:17 may reflect the fact that the reactions to their academic experiences of the students favoring the Residential College are complex and affected by contradictory tendencies. These students certainly do not demonstrate a simple disaffection with their classes and academic experience in the multiversity. They indicate that they have received something from their academic experience, in some ways that they have gotten more than the students who are satisfied with the multiversity and are not interested in a more experimental educational experience. But while they may have gotten a good deal, it has not been enough to meet their higher standards and expections. The desire for a more complete fulfillment in this area seems to be an important component of their interest in the Residential College.[10]

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[10] A further indication of their academic involvement and intellectual commitments is the fact that, despite their criticisms, students who favor the Residential College if anything do better academically. Among the men, their reported grade point average was 2.99 compared to 2.91 for those not interested in the Residential College (statistically significant at the .05 level). Among the women students, the comparable figures are 2.95 and 2.92.

TABLE II-17

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Attitudes Toward Courses

Attitudes Toward Courses	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Perception of Courses as Stimulating Discussion and Extra Work (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high)	4.73	4.32	4.29	4.39	5.09	4.87	4.98	4.47
	F(all cols.) = 1.570, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.028, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 4.443, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.248, p=NS			
Proportion who Felt "Several" Courses were "Unusually Meaningful"	47%	39%	35%	33%	57%	54%	49%	40%
	Chi^2(all cols.) = 5.690, df=3, p=NS Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 3.062, df=1, p=.10				Chi^2(all cols.) = 9.616, df=3, p=.05 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 0.974, df=1, p= NS			
Found Courses "Interesting" (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very often)	1.97	2.02	1.97	2.01	1.88	1.68	1.80	1.86
	F(all cols.) = 0.199, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.000, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.340, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.807, p=NS			
Found Courses "Dull" (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very often)	2.68	2.78	2.88	2.86	2.82	2.97	2.86	2.90
	F(all cols.) = 2.069, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.110, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 1.182, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.178, p=NS			

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TABLE II-17 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Attitudes Toward Courses

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Attitudes Toward Courses (cont.)								
Perception of Course Standards as Low and Not Challenging (Means on 7-point scale, 7=not challenging)	4.30	4.11	4.04	4.04	4.03	3.87	3.96	3.87
	F(all cols.) = 1.184, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.750, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.509, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.200, p=NS			
Significance of "Classroom Work" Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.40	2.40	2.34	2.34	2.22	2.01	2.17	2.13
	F(all cols.) = 0.201, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.275, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.443, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.216, p=NS			
Significance of "Individual Study" Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.62	2.78	2.89	2.87	2.61	2.86	2.77	2.92
	F(all cols.) = 1.400, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.429, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.544, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.974, p=NS			

Relationships With Faculty

A major criticism of the multiversity centers on the role that faculty play. The faculty are seen as involved in their own careers, focusing on research and the graduate program, neglecting and uninterested in the teaching of undergraduates. The criticism of the impersonalism of the multiversity is partly a criticism of the relationships with faculty that are available to the undergraduates in that setting. A major aspect of reforms like the Residential College at Michigan is the attempt to change these depersonalized relationships, to provide the students with faculty who are accessible and interested in them, who can serve as meaningful models in the educational process. We would expect, then, that a major component of the desire for a Residential College experience would be a disenchantment and disillusionment with the types of faculty relationships that the student had experienced in the multiversity.

Table II-18 presents the findings on a number of questions in the senior questionnaire that attempted to tap the students' orientations toward the faculty. Since any interpretation of reactions to faculty must begin with what students want from faculty, the first entry in the table presents the relationship between attitudes toward the Residential College and the responses to a very simple and straightforward question which asked the student directly whether a personal relationship, a "relationship with someone they can see and talk to frequently outside of class, someone they can get to know well enough to talk with about matters not related to school or course work was something they wanted in a relationship with a teacher (Question 33). The students were asked to check one of five alternatives ranging from "I want this very much" to "I'm sure I don't want it--I prefer a certain amount of distance between faculty and students." As is evident in II-18, there is a striking relationship between responses to this question and attitudes toward the Residential College. While most students in all groups indicate some interest in this kind of relationship, this is much more true for the students who favor the Residential College. This is true for both the men and women students. It is clear that the desire for this kind of relationship with faculty members is strongly associated with a dissatisfaction with the multiversity experience, and a preference for the kind of educational setting promised by the Residential College.

The next three entries in Table II-18 are questions tapping the student's reactions to the experience he actually has had with faculty at Michigan. One asked the students to indicate how important relationships with faculty had been among the experiences they had had in college (Question 25); another asked whether they had found the lack of contact with faculty a disappointment and problem in their college experience (Question 54, item m); and another was an index measuring the degree of faculty influence on the student's career choice, built on three items--the extent to which faculty were important in the student's choice of major (Question 12), the extent to which faculty were important in the student's occupational decision (Question 83), and whether or not the student had ever discussed his vocational plans and problems with faculty (Question 41).

The results on these three sets of questions, as presented in Table II-18, are somewhat paradoxical. Wanting more in their faculty relationships, the students who prefer the Residential College seem to have gotten

TABLE II-18

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Orientations Toward Faculty

	Males				
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Significance Tests
Desire for Personal Relationship with Faculty (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	1.62	1.91	2.14	2.10	F(all cols.) = 9.543, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=21.966, p=.001
Significance of "getting to know faculty..."Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	3.04	3.29	3.45	3.32	F(all cols.) = 2.941, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 8.859, p=.01
Faculty Influence on Career Choice (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	6.43	5.40	5.39	5.19	F(all cols.) = 2.938, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.752, p=.05
Bothered by Too Little Faculty Contact (Means on 4-point scale, 1=bothered "a great deal")	2.70	3.00	3.13	3.09	F(all cols.) = 6.178, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=16.696, p=.001

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TABLE II-18 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Orientations Toward Faculty

	Males				
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Neard of RC (N=175)	Significance Tests
Perception of Extent of Faculty-Student Interaction (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high degree of interaction)	4.19	4.50	4.58	4.85	F(all cols.) = 4.734, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.606, p=.05
Perception of Faculty's Interest in Students (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high interest)	7.23	7.82	7.64	7.77	F(all cols.) = 2.467, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.232, p=NS
Perception of Faculty's Competence (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high competence)	6.96	7.11	7.19	7.22	F(all cols.) = 1.009, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.011, p=NS
			Females		
	(N=71)	(N=116)	(N=218)	(N=205)	
Desire for Personal Relationship with Faculty (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	1.69	1.93	2.03	2.06	F(all cols.) = 3.957, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)=10.834, p=.01

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TABLE II-18 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Orientations Toward Faculty

	Females				
	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)	Significance Tests
Significance of "getting to know faculty..." Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.78	3.20	3.10	3.17	F(all cols.) = 4.579, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.772, p=.05
Faculty Influence on Career Choice (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	6.70	5.14	5.20	4.50	F(all cols.) = 7.468, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 9.673, p=.01
Bothered by Too Little Faculty Contact (Means on 4-point scale, 1=bothered "a great deal")	2.68	2.89	3.18	3.13	F(all cols.) = 9.605, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)=21.545, p=.001
Perception of Extent of Faculty-Student Interaction (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high degree of interaction)	4.66	4.78	4.96	4.87	F(all cols.) = 0.894, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.037, p=NS

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TABLE II-18 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Orientations Toward Faculty

Females

	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)	Significance Tests
Perception of Faculty's Interest in Students (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high interest)	7.71	7.95	8.06	7.92	F(all cols.) = 0.857, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.389, p=NS
Perception of Faculty's Competence (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high competence)	6.97	7.11	7.15	7.09	F(all cols.) = 0.433, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.231, p=NS

more from their contacts with faculty. For both men and women students, those favoring the Residential College more often feel that "getting to know faculty" was a particularly important and meaningful aspect of their college experience. They also more often say that faculty have had an influence on them in the area where faculty can be particularly meaningful in college, namely, the choice of an occupation and the life direction that such a choice often implies. The differences are striking and statistically significant for both men and women students. However, since the students desiring the Residential College want more from faculty, they are also more disappointed in what they get. They more often indicate being bothered by "having too little real contact with faculty."

The last three entries in Table II-18 move from the student's individual relationship with faculty to his more general perceptions of the state of faculty-student relationships at the university. We were interested here in the extent to which the student's own desires and experiences generalized to his overall view of faculty-student relationships at the university. In the factor analysis of the question which presented the students with a long list of characteristics and asked them to rate the extent to which each of these was or was not true of the environment at Michigan (Question 26), three factors emerged which are specifically relevant to faculty-student relationships at the university. The following indices were built from these three factors:

Faculty's interest in students, measured by Items 3, 14, 19 and 32 in Question 26 (these items tap the extent to which students felt faculty members went "out of their way to help them," were not aloof and formal, liked spending time with students, and were genuinely interested in them).

Faculty's competence, measured by Items 2, 11 and 23 in Question 26 (the extent to which the student saw the faculty as stimulating, competent in their fields, and good teachers).

Faculty-student interaction, measured by Items 7, 24 and 37 of Question 26 (the extent to which the students see professors outside of class, have contact with faculty and see the professors as going out of their way to establish friendly relations with students).

The findings on these three indices in Table II-18 indicate some tendency for the disappointment felt by the students favoring the Residential College, to generalize to their perceptions of student-faculty relationships at the University. They tend to see less student-faculty interaction at the University, less interest in students on the part of faculty, and even generalize to a feeling that the faculty is less competent.

However, the findings are not striking; in the six comparisons (the three indices separately for men and women) only one is statistically significant. To some extent the ambivalence in these students' feelings about faculty, the fact that they both get more from faculty and are more disappointed, mutes their general critique of faculty-student relationships at the University.

Thus, the major finding in Table II-18 is not that students who favor the Residential College are unusually critical of faculty. Rather, the main issue that integrates all the findings in the table is that these students want much more from the faculty. Because of this desire, they are not only more disappointed in what they find in the multiversity, but also get more from faculty even in that setting. This latter aspect of the findings is particularly important to note. The seniors who end their four year experience at the multiversity feeling they would have preferred the kind of environment offered by the Residential College are not students who have had unusually bad experiences with faculty. If anything, they have found more meaningful relationships and have been more influenced by faculty in some of their critical life-relevant decisions. What distinguishes them, and what underlies the disappointment they feel, is not unusually bad experiences, but their desire for more than is typically found in the type of faculty relationships offered in the multiversity.

The findings in Table II-18 indicate that students favoring the Residential College have reacted more intensely--both positively and negatively--to the faculty relationships they have had. At a more objective level, we were interested in just the extent of different types of contact, whether students who felt positively about the Residential College had had more contact with faculty, or were just reacting differently to similar amounts of contact. The issue of amount and nature of contact was explored in a very extensive question in the questionnaire (Question 34) which listed four categories of faculty (professor in the student's major field, professor not in the major field, teaching fellow in the major field, teaching fellow not in the major field) and asked a series of questions about each of them: whether anyone in the category was ever seen outside of class, the extent of this out-of-class interaction, the purposes (ranging from personal problems to course-related questions), the setting (office, home, other social setting), and finally, how many in each category were known well enough so the student felt he could visit them at their own homes on his own initiative.

Table II-19 presents the responses to thisset of questions. The table includes data on the number of faculty in each category seen outside of class, the frequency of this contact, and the number of faculty known in an informal relationship (defined as "know well enough so that you can visit with them at their homes on your own initiative"). The table also includes the results from three indices: "contact in social settings" (whether the student checked (in Question 34) that his contact with faculty had been in some non-office university setting, faculty's home, or some other social setting); "course-related contact" (checking whether contact with faculty had been for the purpose of "ask a question about course" and had occurred in the faculty's office as a setting); "intellectual-personal contact" (checking that contact with faculty had been for the purpose of discussing a personal problem and discussing an intellectual topic of mutual interest).

Given the fact that students desiring the Residential College are much more interested in a personal relationship with faculty and found their experiences with faculty more meaningful and influential, we would expect that these students would also have indicated that they had more actual contact with faculty, particularly more personalized contact. In general,

TABLE II-19

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=95)*	Uncertain (N=113)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)*	Never Heard of RC (N=173)*	Favor RC (N=71)*	Uncertain (N=114)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)*	Never Heard of RC (N=201)*
Faculty in Major								
Number Seen Outside of Class (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	2.75	2.67	2.69	2.62	2.90	2.55	2.65	2.61
	F(all cols.) = 0.178, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.097, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.841, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.433, p=NS			
Frequency of Contact (Means on 5-point scale, 1="once a day",5="never")	3.37	3.51	3.62	3.70	3.32	3.89	3.70	3.80
	F(all cols.) = 1.887, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.503, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 4.291, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.298, p=.05			
Number Known in Informal Relationship (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.54	1.32	1.31	1.39	1.25	1.30	1.32	1.28
	F(all cols.) = 1.664, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.811, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.196, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.386, p=NS			
Contact in Social Settings (Means on 4-point scale, 1=no social contact)	1.62	1.55	1.46	1.52	1.67	1.63	1.60	1.46
	F(all cols.) = 0.737, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.004, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.448, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.305, p=NS			

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TABLE II-19 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
Faculty in Major (cont.)	Favor RC (N=95)*	Uncertain (N=113)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)*	Never Heard of RC (N=173)*	Favor RC (N=71)*	Uncertain (N=114)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)*	Never Heard of RC (N=201)*
Course-Related Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no course-related contact)	2.47	2.60	2.59	2.60	2.56	2.55	2.63	2.57
	F(all cols.) = 0.804, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.574, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.416, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.565, p=NS			
Intellectual-Personal Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no intellectual-personal contact)	1.67	1.68	1.57	1.59	1.69	1.60	1.69	1.63
	F(all cols.) = 0.662, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.025, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.437, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.005, p=NS			
Faculty Not in Major								
Number Seen Outside of Class (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	2.14	2.07	2.19	1.87	2.14	2.00	2.02	1.79
	F(all cols.) = 2.026, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.792, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.792, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.400, p=NS			
Frequency of Contact (Means on 5-point scale, 1="once a day",5="never")	3.84	3.99	3.99	4.14	4.07	4.20	4.20	4.36
	F(all cols.) = 1.731, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.326, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.110, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.926, p=NS			

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TABLE II-19 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
Faculty Not in Major (cont.)	Favor RC (N=95)*	Uncertain (N=113)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)*	Never Heard of RC (N=173)*	Favor RC (N=71)*	Uncertain (N=114)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)*	Never Heard of RC (N=201)*
Number Known in Informal Relationship (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.42	1.35	1.28	1.22	1.21	1.11	1.23	1.16
	F(all cols.) = 1.658, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.674, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.436, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.048, p=NS			
Contact in Social Settings (Means on 4-point scale, 1=no social contact)	1.64	1.69	1.57	1.46	1.77	1.61	1.84	1.53
	F(all cols.) = 1.476, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.336, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.976, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.227, p=NS			
Course-Related Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no course-related contact)	2.35	2.30	2.26	2.32	2.15	2.33	2.18	2.45
	F(all cols.) = 0.169, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.431, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.293, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.023, p=NS			
Intellectual-Personal Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no intellectual-personal contact	1.69	1.48	1.49	1.46	1.51	1.37	1.65	1.51
	F(all cols.) = 1.743, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.506, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.206, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.995, p=NS			

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TABLE II-19 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=95)*	Uncertain (N=113)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)*	Never Heard of RC (N=173)*	Favor RC (N=71)*	Uncertain (N=114)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)*	Never Heard of RC (N=201)*
Teaching Fellows in Major								
Number Seen Outside of Class (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.95	2.08	1.89	1.92	1.87	1.65	1.77	1.62
	F(all cols.) = 0.443, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.108, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.990, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.263, p=NS			
Frequency of Contact (Means on 5-point scale, 1="once a day",5="never")	3.83	4.03	4.13	4.16	4.11	4.47	4.26	4.45
	F(all cols.) = 1.795, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.439, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.812, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.770, p=NS			
Number Known in Informal Relationship (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.30	1.33	1.22	1.27	1.22	1.21	1.24	1.10
	F(all cols.) = 0.572, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.914, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.640, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.048, p=NS			
Contact in Social Settings (Means on 4-point scale, 1=no social contact)	1.63	1.77	1.79	1.61	1.93	1.78	1.90	1.46
	F(all cols.) = 0.858, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.149, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 3.490, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.037, p=NS			

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TABLE II-19 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=95)*	Uncertain (N=113)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)*	Never Heard of RC (N=173)*	Favor RC (N=71)*	Uncertain (N=114)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)*	Never Heard of RC (N=201)*
Teaching Fellows in Major (cont.)								
Course-Related Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no course-related contact)	2.35	2.16	2.29	2.52	2.50	2.24	2.33	2.37
	F(all cols.) = 2.212, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.141, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.690, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.926, p=NS			
Intellectual-Personal Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no intellectual-personal contact)	1.55	1.50	1.46	1.43	1.67	1.50	1.49	1.34
	F(all cols.) = 0.425, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.586, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.744, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.348, p=NS			
Teaching Fellows Not in Major								
Number Seen Outside of Class (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.93	1.72	1.81	1.66	2.01	1.56	1.57	1.64
	F(all cols.) = 1.087, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.553, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.728, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.801, p=.01			
Frequency of Contact (Means on 5-point scale, 1="once a day", 5="never")	3.91	4.36	3.29	4.34	4.07	4.48	4.50	4.49
	F(all cols.) = 4.008, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 6.714, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 4.240, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)=10.014, p=.01			

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TABLE II-19 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=95)*	Uncertain (N=113)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=163)*	Never Heard of RC (N=173)*	Favor RC (N=71)*	Uncertain (N=114)*	Do Not Favor RC (N=210)*	Never Heard of RC (N=201)*
Teaching Fellows Not in Major (cont.)								
Number Known in Informal Relationship (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.46	1.31	1.26	1.21	1.39	1.19	1.15	1.16
	F(all cols.) = 2.179, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.242, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 3.035, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 8.325, p=.01			
Contact in Social Settings (Means on 4-point scale, 1=no social contact)	1.89	2.05	1.69	1.64	1.97	1.97	1.90	1.68
	F(all cols.) = 2.620, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.925, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.334, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.162, p=NS			
Course-Related Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no course-related contact)	2.06	2.03	2.21	2.16	2.06	2.23	2.12	2.28
	F(all cols.) = 0.523, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.839, p=NS				F(All cols.) = 0.656, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.126, p=NS			
Intellectual-Personal Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no intellectual-personal contact)	1.57	1.58	1.35	1.44	1.72	1.47	1.40	1.40
	F(all cols.) = 1.703, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.045, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 1.942, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.345, p=.05			

* N's are somewhat smaller for last 3 indices (Contact in Social Settings, Course-Related Contact, and Intellectual-Personal Contact) because indices were computed only for students who indicated they had some outside-of-class contact.

however, we see in Table II-19 that this is not true. The table shows very few differences between students favoring and not favoring the Residential College in the extent and nature of their contact with faculty. The fact that faculty were more meaningful to students desiring the Residential College and more influential in shaping their career choices seems to be not a function of the fact that they had more contact with faculty, but rather of the meaning of the contact they had.

There is one interesting exception to these general findings in Table II-19 and that is with respect to the contact with teaching fellows and laboratory assistants not in the major field. Here a number of statistically significant differences appear. Those favoring the residential college tend to have more frequent contact with these teaching fellows, and the contact tends to be more informal and intellectually and personally oriented rather than course-related. It is interesting that these differences appear not only with the graduate student teaching fellows, but with those who are not in the student's major field. Thus, they suggest that not only are the graduate students more influential for the undergraduates looking for a different educational experience, but that they provide for these students a general intellectual and personal model, not one that is specifically career-connected. This is consistent with previous findings that these students are looking for a more intensive general intellectual and personal experience in college, and are less involved than other students in a narrowly defined career or academic orientation.

Many of the commentators on student activism have suggested the crucial importance of graduate students as leaders in the movement, and as radicalizers of the undergraduates who get involved in activism. The findings in Table II-19 suggest that the graduate student is significant not only for political activists, but for the undergraduates whose criticism and interest in change has an educational focus.

But, as we have already noted, these few findings on teaching-fellows are the exception, and in general Table II-19 shows few differences in contact with faculty. Nor is this because all students have a good deal of broad and informal faculty relationships. On the contrary, Table II-19 documents the lack of such relationships at a university like Michigan, even for students, like those favoring the Residential College, who have a great interest in developing such relationships. That these students did not form meaningful relationships with more faculty despite their interest, points up the extent to which the possibilities and opportunities in this area are limited in a multiversity. And if, in reactions against this limitation, students criticize the multiversity and look for an educational environment where faculty can be more broadly meaningful for them, it is difficult to question the legitimacy of their complaint.

Personal, Social and Extracurricular Relationships

The criticism that the multiversity is impersonal applies not only to relationships with faculty, but also to the relationships that students form with other students. One might expect that the Residential College, with its more intimate setting, smaller classes and integration of the social and intellectual environments, would appeal more to students who had generally felt somewhat isolated and personally alienated in their college experience.

We have examined this issue from several perspectives. At the more immediate personal level we have looked at the student's experiences with freindships and dating and social life. At a somewhat more general level, we have asked about the extracurricular activities of the students, with particular emphasis on their involvement in the voluntary student group life at the university. To the extent that students were involved in extracurricular activities, and so were able to find congenial groups of like-minded students, we might expect them to have less interest in a different kind of social-educational experience.

Table II-20 presents the data on the students' interpersonal and friendship experiences. Several aspects of the friendship area are presented in this table. First, several questions in Table II-20 address the issue of how important freindship is to the different types of students. This was explored directly in the question asking students about their goals for college (Question 47); included in this question was the item "establishing meaningful friendships". More indirectly, Question 55 asked students about their readiness to turn to different University and non-University people when "worried or troubled" or with "critical personal decisions to make". Included in the long list of people presented in the question were "boyfreind or Girlfriend", "friends at Michigan", and "friends not at Michigan"; The "Readiness to Talk with Friends about Problems" index presented in Table II-20 represents the summation of the student's response to these three items of Question 55. The "Friends' Influence on Career Choice" index measures the significance of the students' friendships by the indication that "friends at Michigan" were important in their choice of an academic major (Question 12) and that both Michigan and non-Michigan friends were important in helping them arrive at an occupational decision (Question 83).

One might have expected that freindships would be more important to the students favoring the Residential College, since a strong aspect of the Residental College's appeal is the environment it provides for facilitating close intimate friendship relationships. However, as indicated in Table II-20, there is no difference between students favoring and not favoring the Residential College on the questions and indices developed to measure the significance and importance of friendship. All students tend to give a high value to friendship.

Another area of friendship explored in the questionaire was the student's sense of ease in social and interpersonal relationships. It was expected that the Residential College might be preferred by students who experienced a certain degree of difficulty in forming relationships, and felt they might have less problems in the more intimate setting of the Residential College. The study included several questions relating to the issue of "social outgoingness". In the factor analysis of the self-ratings on different items

TABLE II-20

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Friendship Orientations

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Significance of "establishing meaningful friendships" as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	2.49	2.37	2.38	2.39	2.69	2.67	2.69	2.61
	F(all cols.) = 0.824, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.973, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 1.092, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.000, p = NS			
Self-Concept as Socially Outgoing (Means on 37-point scale, 1=high)	13.95	13.61	12.48	11.96	12.75	12.23	11.75	11.36
	F(all cols.) = 3.588, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.243, p = .05				F(all cols.) = 1.103, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.378, p = NS			
Preference for Living Alone (Means on 4-point scale, 4=high)	1.83	1.85	1.76	1.70	1.90	1.64	1.76	1.72
	F(all cols.) = 0.707, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.316, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 1.135, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.023, p = NS			
Readiness to Talk with Friends about Problems (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high readiness)	9.48	9.01	9.21	9.19	10.89	10.82	11.33	10.97
	F(all cols.) = 0.365, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.419, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 1.745, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.622, p = NS			
Friends' Influence on Career Choice (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	4.47	3.97	4.13	3.98	4.49	3.63	3.75	3.55
	F(all cols.) = 0.782, p = NS F(Col.1 vs.3)= 0.950, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 2.387, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.062, p = NS			

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TABLE II-20 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Friendship Orientations

	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Significance of Friendships Among College Experiences (Means on 9-point scale, 9=high)	6.33	6.59	6.67	6.68	7.56	7.74	7.94	7.61
	F(all cols.) = 0.765, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.912, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 2.007, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.529, p = NS			
Bothered by Inability to Find Congenial Individuals or Groups in College (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	3.13	3.32	3.42	3.46	3.06	3.35	3.66	3.43
	F(all cols.) = 3.032, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.612, p = .05				F(all cols.) = 9.011, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)=27.149, p = .001			
Bothered by Loneliness in College (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	2.61	2.76	2.98	2.99	2.26	2.67	2.81	2.77
	F(all cols.) = 4.431, p = .01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 8.612, p = .01				F(all cols.) = 6.153, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)=16.090, p = .001			
Disappointed in Relationship(s) in College (Means on 10-point scale, 10= high disappointment)	4.36	3.63	3.75	3.43	5.63	4.86	4.56	4.80
	F(all cols.) = 3.714, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.388, p = .05				F(all cols.) = 3.492, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)=10.700, p = .01			

in the self-concept question (Question 105), one factor emerged which seemed to tap this area. It included the following six self-descriptions: "social", "free", "open", "happy", "active", "warm". In another question addressed to this issue, students were asked whether they preferred living alone or with a roommate. (Question 22).

As indicated in Table II-20, the students who reject the Residential College do see themselves as more socially outgoing (a tendency for the women, and statistically significant for the men).[11] This suggests that while not differing in the significance they attach to friendship, students favoring and not favoring Residential College may differ in their feelings of ease in establishing friendship relationships. The issue of socialibility and social outgoingness does not necessarily have implications for the capacity to form meaningful relationships in the long run, but it may imply some difference in the early stages of establishing such relationships, a feeling that can get exacerbated at a large heterogeneous multiversity like Michigan, particularly in the early freshman months.

The picture developing, then, is one in which all students attach equal importance and significance to friendship, but those favoring the Residential College may find the area somewhat more difficult and problematic. This picture is further amplified in the last four entries in Table II-20 which deal with the actual experiences with friendship during college. Again we find that students favoring and not favoring the Residential College do not differ in the significance they attach to the friendship experiences they have developed during their college years. (The index on "Significance of Friendships among College Experiences" was derived from the importance students attached to "the friendships I've formed" in response to Question 25 on significant college experiences, and the extent to which they indicated, in Question 48, that "establishing meaningful friendships" had been one of the major goals they had achieved in their college years.) But in the questions which measure difficulties around relationships, we do find clear differences. In response to Question 54 which listed a number of possible "crises or problems during the college years" students favoring the Residential College more often indicated being bothered by "an inability to find individuals or groups who were really congenial and with whom I felt happy" and "a feeling of isolation or loneliness". This difficulty in establishing freindships seems to be part of a more general tendency to be sensitive and vulnerable in relationships; on an index built from three items in the same Question 54 (items g, h, and o) which indicated the extent to which students had been bothered by "disappointments" in various relationships, the findings in Table II-20 suggest that students favoring the Residential College experienced greater sensitivity and vulnerability in this area.

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[11] The fact that there is no difference in response to the question on preference for living alone or with a roommate does not really negate these findings on differences in sociability and social outgoingness. While the seniors who prefer the Residential College might be somewhat more "private" and diffident in social relationships and hence might prefer to live alone, they have, after all, indicated their preference for an educational environment that facilitates intimate friendship and communal relationships. While they may find establishing such relationships a little more difficult their interest in the Residential College may reflect a desire for an environment that could help them in this area.

It should be stressed that the students who favored the Residential College are not isolated people who have had an unusually anomic experience in the multiversity. They have found meaningful friendships in college, and this has been one of the very significant aspects of their college experience. But they seem to have experienced greater problems, turbulence and difficulty in finding these relationships and in carrying them through. The friendship area is more problematic for them.

Some of these issues are amplified in the next two tables. The first table (Table II-21) deals with the relatively simple issue of dating. It presents the data both on the extent of dating (Question 126) and satisfaction with the experiences in this area (Question 127). Consistent with the fact that students not in favor of the Residential College are more socially outgoing (as well as previous findings that they have a generally greater collegiate orientation to college) we find that these students date more often than do those who said that they would prefer the Residential College. However, there is no difference between the two groups of students in their general satisfaction with their dating and social life at Michigan. The kinds of issues around friendship that are associated with a desire for the Residential College, are more complicated than just an interest in finding a "better" dating situation.

The next table (Table II-22) deals with some more complex issues in this area. It presents data on students' involvement in extra-curricular activities, and the relationship of personal friendships to these activities. We see in Table II-22 that there is no difference in the amount of extracurricular activity of students who favor and do not favor the Residential College. Despite the fact that those who do not favor the College are more collegiately oriented, they do not indicate any greater extracurricular activity. This is true whether measured by a question asking them to rate themselves on how active they have been in extracurricular activities during their senior year (Part III, Question 4), or in a question asking them to list the number of student organizations they were members of (Part III, Question 7). What is apparent, however, is that these extracurricular involvements, particularly their student organizational memberships, have greater significance for the students who do not favor the Residential College. Students were asked to list the two group memberships that were most important to them, and then asked to indicate how important they felt these memberships were (Part III, Question 10). As indicated in Table II-22, students not favoring the Residential College more often rated their group memberships as of "crucial importance" or "very important". Except for the women's responses about their first group, the students who favor the Residential College tend to rate their first and second groups as less important to them than do the students who do not favor the College. A perhaps more critical aspect of the greater significance of these groups is indicated by the students' responses to a question (Question 12, Part III) which asked them to indicate whether or not their five best friends at Michigan were members of these two groups. In all four possible comparisons (men and women students on the two most important groups) we find that students who were more

TABLE II-21

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Dating

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Frequency of Dating (Means on 6-point scale, 6=high)	3.29	3.59	3.75	3.91	3.96	3.99	4.41	4.25
	F(all cols.) = 3.422, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.992, p = .05				F(all cols.) = 2.703, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.824, p = .05			
Satisfaction with Dating and Social Life in College (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very satisfied)	2.31	2.12	2.16	2.08	2.06	2.13	1.91	1.82
	F(all cols.) = 1.445, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.748, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 3.531, p = .05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.618, p = NS			

TABLE II-22

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Extracurricular Involvements

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC	Uncertain	Do Not Favor RC	Never Heard of RC	Favor RC	Uncertain	Do Not Favor RC	Never Heard of RC
Extracurricular Activity (Means on 4-point scale, 4=high)	1.85 (N=98)	1.84 (N=115)	1.91 (N=166)	1.72 (N=175)	1.67 (N=72)	1.42 (N=116)	1.72 (N=217)	1.31 (N=205)
	F(all cols.) = 0.997, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.204, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 9.837, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.159, p = NS			
Number of Campus Group Memberships (Means on 7-point scale, 7=7or more)	2.67 (N=95)	2.96 (N=113)	2.64 (N=156)	1.92 (N=169)	3.36 (N=69)	2.94 (N=111)	3.42 (N=208)	2.45 (N=199)
	F(all cols.) = 8.528, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.024, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 9.748, p = .001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.041, p = NS			
Proportion Who Feel First Group Was Very Important	49% (N=78)	59% (N=90)	63% (N=131)	63% (N=120)	63% (N=56)	53% (N=96)	63% (N=172)	55% (N=141)
	Chi^2(all cols.) = 5.026, df=3, p=NS Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 3.304, df=1, p=.10				Chi^2(all cols.) = 3.680, df=3, p=NS Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 0.014, df=1, p=NS			
Proportion Who Feel Second Group Was Very Important	20% (N=54)	36% (N=66)	40% (N=78)	36% (N=56)	20% (N=40)	16% (N=50)	37% (N=119)	27% (N=75)
	Chi^2(all cols.) = 5.864, df=3, p=NS Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 4.664, df=1, p=.05				Chi^2(all cols.) = 9.623, df=3, p=.05 Chi^2(col.1 vs.3)= 3.186, df=1, p=.10			

(continued on next page)

TABLE II-22 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Extracurricular Involvements

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC	Uncertain	Do Not Favor RC	Never Heard of RC	Favor RC	Uncertain	Do Not Favor RC	Never Heard of RC
Number Among Five Best Friends Who Are Members of First Group (Means)	1.65 (N=75)	2.22 (N=88)	2.12 (N=128)	2.24 (N=118)	1.69 (N=52)	1.52 (N=93)	1.82 (N=168)	1.79 (N=138)
	F(all cols.) = 2.222, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.172, p = .05				F(all cols.) = 0.761, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.258, p = NS			
Number Among Five Best Friends Who Are Members of Second Group (Means)	0.69 (N=55)	1.14 (N=66)	1.07 (N=77)	0.96 (N=155)	0.46 (N=37)	0.81 (N=48)	0.94 (N=120)	0.78 (N=72)
	F(all cols.) = 1.145, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.447, p = NS				F(all cols.) = 1.690, p = NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.638, p = .05			

satisfied with their multiversity environment shared membership in their important groups with more of their five best friends (in two of the four instances the differences are statistically significant). For these students, their personal friendships are more embedded in a broader social community that they were able to find at the University.

These findings suggest that the greater loneliness that we have seen was experienced by students favoring the Residential College is not due to a lack of individual friendships, but rather to the fact that these friendships are not anchored in a close social network. Conversely, satisfaction with the multiversity to some extent seems to be related to finding a "home" and community within it. The students who have had a happier university experience have had less isolation and fragmentation of their friendships. They have less need therefore for the type of environment that is a major attraction of the Residential College, namely, the promise of a broader intimate community.

We may summarize all these findings in the friendship and interpersonal area by pointing up that they provide an interesting contrast to those observed when we looked at attitudes toward the Residential College in relation to experiences with faculty. In the latter, the crucial issue seemed to be that faculty relationships, particularly meaningful personal relationships with faculty, were more important to the students interested in the Residential College, and that this was a problem for them in a multiversity that doesn't provide enough opportunity for these kinds of relationships. In the peer area, however, friendships do not seem to be unusually important for the students who favor the Residential College. Rather, there seem to be two other interrelated issues in this area: Friendship relationships seem to be more problematic and difficult for students who favor the Residential College, a difficulty that can be exacerbated in the mass heterogeneous environment of the multiversity; and in this environment they also have been less able to integrate their friendships within a broader close community, which may have added to these students' feelings of isolation and loneliness.

One can see then why the Residential College, providing an environment that both facilitates the forming of friendships, and places these friendships within an intimate broader community, would appeal to these students. It shoud be noted, however, that such an environment could be somewhat double-edged with respect to some of the issues in the friendship area that the seniors in our sample might have felt could have been helped in the Residential College. We have seen that these students seem to be unusually sensitive and vulnerable in their personal relationships. The community and intimacy of the Residential College that is so appealing to these students, might also exacerbate this vulnerability and sensitivity.[12]

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[12] It is possible that the students themselves would be concerned about this possibility to the extent that, if they actually were starting over again as freshmen, they would not go to the Residential College in spite of the preference they indicated in response to the senior questionaire. The

REACTIONS TO ISSUES OF THE MULTIVERSITY: IMPERSONALITY AND STUDENT CONTROL

Much of the criticism of the University that developed in the 1960's focused on issues of student individuality and control. Universities, particularly the vast multiversities, were criticized as both impersonal and autocratic. Students' individuality and integrity were seen as violated both by the lack of caring of an impersonal bureaucracy, and by a power structure that gave students minimal control over the critical decisions made in the institution they were members of for four critical years of their lives.

While criticisms of impersonality and control are inter-related they do not represent exactly the same critique. Both represent the protest of the individual fighting against being overwhelmed by the institution, but they focus on somewhat different issues. Some students can be very involved in a desire for closeness, and not be at all concerned about whether they are being over-controlled. Other students can accept the impersonal bureaucratic style and relationships in the University, and be concerned only with getting greater power to manipulate the system. We expected that criticisms of impersonality would be of paramount concern to students interested in educational reform, and issues of power and control would be the focus of the students more concerned with political reform of the universities.

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[12] (Cont'd) previously noted study on students who actually went to the Residential College provides some interesting data on this point. The study provides a comparison of the entering characteristics of students who volunteered for the Residential College, and a random sample of students who chose to enroll in the regular literary college at the University of Michigan. Most of the initial findings they report (Newcomb et al, 1970) parallel those we have presented in this chapter on preferences expressed by seniors; for example, that those who want the Residential College have higher intellectual orientations. Interestingly, however, the findings in the friendship area differ. Among entering freshmen, those who want the Residential College seem to be more active and extroverted socially, not less as our senior data suggest. It is possible that the diffidence and sensitivity that made the seniors attracted to the Residential College, particularly after a four-year experience at a multiversity, would keep them from actually going into such an environment whose promises of intimacy, while appealing, are also threatening. The fact that the senior preferences for the Residential College might not actually lead to choosing the College does not, of course, negate the findings discussed in this chapter. The purpose of the analyses of senior preferences in this chapter has been to highlight reactions to the multiversity experience, not to predict who would actually choose experimental educational situations modelled on the Residential College. The fact that the Residential College appeals to seniors who find friendships and interpersonal relationships problematic, highlights some of the limitations of the multiversity in this area.

The reactions to these two sets of issues are presented in Tables II-23 and II-24. The concern over the issue of individuality (Table II-23) was measured both by a set of general indices on the perceptions of the University in this area, and by a question tapping the individual's own experience with feelings of isolation because of the impersonality of the University. We attempted to probe several aspects of this issue. All three of the "perception" indices in Table II-23 derive from a factor analysis of the items in Question 26 which asked the student to comment on how accurately a set of statements described the University of Michigan. The first index ("Perception that University treats Students Individually") consists of items 1, 18 and 27 from this question, all items which attempted to get directly at the issue of impersonality and dehumanization (whether students are treated as "unique" people, whether they are ignored by an academic bureaucracy, whether they are treated like "IBM cards"). The other two indices tapped more "active" components of this issue, that is, not only whether the University attempts to treat the student humanely, but whether it taks an active interest in *promoting* his individuality. One index ("Perception that University Fosters Individual Development", items 10, 20, 21 and 36 of Question 26) focusses on the University's concern for the student's individual *emotional* development (for example, "There is ample time for inner growth", "You can develop a lot as a human being"). The other index ("Perception that University Encourages Individual Risk and Nonconformity," items 6, 9 and 29 from Question 26) relates more to the issue of whether the University fosters *intellectual* development, particularly through the medium of encouraging intellectual risk, disagreement with authority and non- conformity (for example, "intellectual non-conformity gets you into trouble", "students are encouraged to take intellectual risks").

In the results on these three indices presented in Table II-23, there are clear tendencies for the expected relationships to appear. In all six comparisons (the three indices separately for men and women) those students who favor the Residential College tend to more often see the University as violating, or at least not promoting, students' individuality. It is interesting, however, that the differences are not more striking than they are (in only two instances are they statistically significant) given the fact that one of the main rationales for the creation of Residential Colleges within the larger institution, is to meet the kinds of issues described in Table II-23. Particularly interesting is the fact that differences are rather small and not significant on the first index in the table, which deals with the issue at the rather simplistic "academic bureaucracy" and "IBM card" level. Perhaps the issue cast in these terms has become such a generally accepted cliche' that questions like this are not particularly differentiating. This is in contrast to the somewhat clearer results obtained with the other two indices, which get more at the issue of the University's active involvement in promoting emotional and intellectual development. On the former index differences are statistically significant for the men; on the latter statistically significant for the women.

But the clearest difference in Table II-23 appears in a question which measures not general perceptions of the University on this issue, but the

TABLE II-23

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Perception of University's Concern with Individuality

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Perception that University Treats Students as Individuals (Means on 10-point scale, 10=treatment as individuals)	4.52	4.86	4.66	4.89	4.41	4.33	4.79	4.80
	F(all cols.) = 1.408, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.489, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.785, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 2.327, p=NS			
Perception that University Fosters Individual Development (Means on 13-point scale, 13=individual development fostered)	7.68	8.34	8.44	8.69	8.43	8.07	8.91	8.68
	F(all cols.) = 5.741, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 9.151, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 4.832, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.328, p=NS			
Perception that University Encourages Intellectual Risk and Nonconformity (Means on 10-point scale, 10=non conformity encouraged)	6.56	6.66	6.61	6.55	6.52	6.86	7.12	6.86
	F(all cols.) = 0.182, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.080, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 4.171, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)=11.418, p=.001			
Bothered by "Feeling Lost" at Impersonal University (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	3.91	4.09	4.16	4.09	3.69	4.03	4.18	4.07
	F(all cols.) = 1.724, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.083, p=.05				F(all cols.) = 5.084, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)=14.109, p=.001			

student's own experience. In the question (Question 54) that asked the student to comment on whether he had experienced a number of "crises or problems" the following item was included: "A feeling of being 'lost' at Michigan because it seemed so big and impersonal." Students favoring Residential College clearly more often indicate that this had been a problem for them. In general, then, the findings from Table II-23 indicate that impersonality and whether or not the educational experience actively promotes individual development, are more issues for students who want the Residential College than for students who are satisfied with their multiversity experience.

The findings are similar when we turn, in Table II-24, to student responses to issues of student power and control. Several different aspects of this issue were explored in the following questions and indices:

> The importance of the issue of student control was measured directly in a question (Part III, Question 64) asking the student to rate the importance of the issue to him. The salience of the issue of control was also measured in an index tapping the extent to which the respondents felt that students should have greater control than they had at the University. This index, "Desire for Greater Student Control", consists of the summation of the students' responses to two questions (Part I, Question 27 and Part III, Question 66).
>
> In addition to these questions on the student's personal feelings about the issue of control, three indices attempted to measure the student's perceptions of how things were at the University on this issue. The "Perception of Extent of Student Control Within University" represents the students' views of how much control students actually had, rated on a four-point scale ranging from "Great deal of control" to "Don't have any control" (Part III, Question 65). The "Perception of Student's Participatory Role in Decisions" represents the summation of two items (17 and 31) from Question 26, which measured the perceptions of the students' role in the actual decision-making at the University ("the students have a great deal of say in the way the University is run", and "individual students have a voice in formulating the regulations which affect them"). The third index, "Perception of University as Paternalistic and Restrictive" consists of five items in the same Question 26 (Items 4, 15, 22, 30 and 38) which tap views about the restrictiveness and paternalism of University rules (e.g., "there are many restrictive rules governing the personal behavior of students" and "students are treated like irresponsible children").

The findings in Table II-24 present an interesting pattern. With one exception (women in their perception of the University as paternalistic and restrictive) there seems to be little difference between students favoring and not favoring the Residential College in their perceptions of the power distribution in the University. Both sets of students tend to see the situation in similar terms, that students do not have much control within

TABLE II-24

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Attitudes Toward Student Control

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Attitudes Toward Student Control								
Importance of Issue of Student Control (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very important)	1.95	2.37	2.46	2.69	2.20	2.22	2.39	2.63
	F(all cols.) = 5.711, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 7.362, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 3.350, p=.05 F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.037, p=NS			
Perception of Extent of Student Control Within University (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	3.12	2.87	2.99	2.93	2.83	2.80	2.85	2.79
	F(all cols.) = 1.685, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 1.503, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 0.153, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.015, p=NS			
Perception of Student's Participatory Role in Decisions (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high participation)	2.98	3.13	3.04	3.28	3.63	3.39	3.65	3.71
	F(all cols.) = 1.632, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.169, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 1.690, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.015, p=NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE II-24 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Attitudes Toward Student Control

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=98)	Uncertain (N=115)	Do Not Favor RC (N=166)	Never Heard of RC (N=175)	Favor RC (N=71)	Uncertain (N=116)	Do Not Favor RC (N=218)	Never Heard of RC (N=205)
Attitudes Toward Student Control (cont.)								
Perception of University as Paternalistic and Restrictive (Means on 16-point scale, 1= university paternalistic)	10.29	10.72	10.40	11.29	10.67	11.02	11.37	11.39
	F(all cols.) = 5.080, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 0.088, p=NS				F(all cols.) = 2.320, p=NS F(col.1 vs.3)= 4.940, p=.05			
Desire for Greater Student Control (Means on 6-point scale, 6=desire greater control)	4.66	4.15	4.08	3.68	4.47	4.26	4.04	3.77
	F(all cols.) = 8.399, p=.001 F(col.1 vs.3)= 7.079, p=.01				F(all cols.) = 4.967, p=.01 F(col.1 vs.3)= 3.632, p=NS			

the University or actual participation in situations that affect them, but that the University is not unduly paternalistic or restrictive. But there are clear differences, at least for the men students in their reactions to the perceived situation. The men students who favor the Residential College are much more concerned about the issue of student control and are much more interested in seeing that students get greater control. The results for the women students show the same tendencies, though less strikingly (which is consistent with previous findings that favoring the Residential College is more clearly a part of a general liberal ideology for men than for women students).

In summary, then, both institutional impersonality and authoritarianism seem to be issues of concern to students desiring the educational innovation represented by the Residential College, particularly to the men students. They seem to be looking to the Residential College not only as an environment more personal and intimate than the one they have experienced in the multiversity, but also as one where the smaller size and less formal relationships with faculty might facilitate a more democratic decision-making process.

Summary

If we look at the analyses discussed in this chapter as a way of highpointing some of the limitations in the educational environment provided in the multiversity, two general themes emerge. One is that the environment does not provide full scope and fulfillment for students looking for a broadly meaningful and intense intellectual experience. This was evidenced in a number of the findings presented in this chapter. The students who question their multiversity experience and indicate a preference for the educational environment promised by the Residential College, are more often those with strong broad intellectual interests. They more often approach college as an opportunity for intellectual excitement and the exploration of ideas, and less often approach it with narrowly defined vocational, academic or social-collegiate goals. This is reflected in their orientations to classes and faculty. They prefer an open and more self-directed curriculum, with classes that present less clearly structured expectations and more opportunity for students evolving their own points of view. They are much more interested in faculty, in forming broadly-based and personal relations with faculty, in using faculty as general intellectual and personal models.

This greater intellectual involvement of the students who prefer the Residential College also manifests itself in some paradoxical findings. Although more disappointed with their classes and the lack of opportunity they have had for forming the kinds of relationships with faculty that they desire, they also more often indicate instances of classes that excited them, and of faculty relationships they formed that were particularly meaningful and influential. And they seem to have been more affected by the college environment, not only in their perceptions of the impact that college had on them, but in objectively measured freshman-to-senior changes which indicate that they changed much more in the direction of increased intellectual interests and liberalization of values. Their intellectual involvement seems to make them more open and reactive to an educational experience, and to get more from even one that they find inadequate in many ways.

The second theme that is evident throughout this chapter is a more personal one. The multiversity presents problems (and the Residential College has an appeal) for students who are looking for a college experience that addresses itself to some of their personal-developmental concerns, as well as their intellectual interests. Particularly relevant are the interrelated issues of identity and intimacy. Students who are particularly involved in the identity search, who are self-questioning and uncertain and thinking through some of their basic values and commitments, are less satisfied with their multiveristy experience. This is also true of those students who find friendships and relationships generally somewhat more problematic-who are less socially outgoing, who are more sensitive and vulnerable in social relationships. For the identity seekers looking to form their values and commitments, the multiplicity of choices offered by the multiversity may have been somewhat overwhelming. For those students particularly involved in interpersonal relationships, the impersonality and vastness of the multiversity might have caused particular difficulty. They much more often indicate feelings of isolation, loneliness and "being lost." One interesting finding was that students who preferred the Residential College had been less able to integrate their friendships within a broader social community in the university; the intimate community promised by the Residential College may have been particularly appealing to them.

Within both of these themes -- the intellectual and the personal-- the findings tend to be much stronger and unambiguous for the men than for the women students. There are some exceptions -- for example, the limited opportunity for faculty relationships and the feelings of loneliness and isolation in the vast university -- are so central to the criticism of the multiversity and the reforms that experiments like the Residential College are trying to institute, that they apply equally to the women critics as well as the men. But in other findings, while the same relationships tend to appear, they are less striking for the women. The identity-searchers among the women, as well as the intellectuals and generally liberal non-conformists, are somewhat more ambivalent in their responses. We have suggested that intellectual women in our society, and those who are particularly involved in defining who they are and where they are going, may find the intimacy and intensity of the environment at the Residential College somewhat overwhelming. For a woman in our society the demands for intimacy and sexuality may threaten a loss of her unique individuality. There are also particular conflicts and pressures on an intellectual woman, and she may require a certain amount of distance to be better able to integrate her intellectual interests with the demands for intimacy and traditional feminine role expectations.

It should be stressed that the picture presented in this chapter is not an all-inclusive indictment of a multiversity like Michigan. Certain general issues are highlighted -- for example, the fact that the environment is particularly disappointing for those looking for intellectual excitement, or the limited opportunities for meaningful relationships with faculty. Other findings reflect not so much a general indictment as a suggestion that the multiversity might present particular limitations for certain types of students. The multiversity is not necessarily a bad environment for a student working through identity issues. In some ways it is an ideal environment, presenting multiple alternatives and opportunities for a student's self-testing and exploration. But it may present problems for students particularly uncertain about their values and life-directions; they may simply get overwhelmed in the multiversity. Similarly, even the issue of the impersonality of the multiversity is not as simple as usually stereotyped. Students do find friends in the multiversity; but the environment is probably difficult for those with some social hesitancies and sensitivities, and who have not been able to integrate their friendships within a broader community.

Finally, it should be cautioned that the fact that educational experiments like the Residential College are attempting to handle issues that are not adequately dealt with in the multiversity, does not mean that their efforts will be easily accomplished. Particularly relevant is the issue of the integration of the cognitive and affective that is the focus of many educational reformers who have criticized what they felt was the isolation of the intellectual from the personal and developmental issues that a student is involved in, which they feel should also be the educator's concern. While educational innovations like the Residential College promise this integration, experience has demonstrated it is very difficult to accomplish. Multiversities may not help a student integrate the intellectual and affective issues he is involved in, not because of the university's inadequacies, but because the intense search for personal meaning in the post-adolescence of youth who have always performed academically and intellectually, may mean at least a temporary rejection of intellectual concerns.

CHAPTER III

Factors Related to a Student Activist Protest

More dramatic than the educational criticisms expressed by students in the 1960's was the political protest that came to be subsumed under the term "student activism". Our concern in this chapter will be an analysis of the factors related to this type of protest, presented within a framework that facilitates comparison with the factors related to the educational critique presented in the preceding chapter.

Our measure of student activism is restricted to the cohort that graduated in 1967, and the analyses were therefore performed on only about half of our sample. The reason for this was that a student rebellion broke out at the University of Michigan in the fall of 1966, the senior year of the 1963 cohorts involved in this study. The last phase of data collection took place only shortly after this series of events so that we were able to include questions about student attitudes and participation in this campus protest. A brief description of the nature of the protest may be helpful as a backdrop for understanding the analysis of factors related to student activism that will be the focus of this chapter.

Nature of the Protest

Although the University of Michigan has had a history of student and faculty activism on civil rights and Vietnam, the events of the fall of 1966 were unusual in at least two major respects. First as a protest with fairly radical content and strategy the fall 1966 movement had a great deal of legitimacy on campus and attracted an unusually large number and wide variety of students. Secondly, whereas protest activities in the past had focussed on issues relevant to the larger society, the 1966 protest evolved when these broader issues became complicated by and related to issues of student rights within the University. A brief history of the fall 1966 events will make these points clear.

Just prior to the beginning of classes in September, 1966, the Universsity administration complied with a request from the House Committee on Un-American Activities for the membership lists of several radical student groups, including the campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. While student protest against this action was limited mostly to a sit-in by the more committed radicals, a large proportion of students were well aware of what had happened and at least passively sympathized with the radicals' anger at the administration.

The campus was relatively quiet until November, when the University's policy of submitting class ranks to Selective Service boards came under increasing fire. Student Government Council, the central governing body for undergraduates, held a referendum on ranking in which nearly 10,000 students -- an unprecedented number -- voted almost two to one against the compilation of ranks for use by the Selective Service. The University announced, however, that it would not be bound by the vote. In addition, the Vice President for Student Affairs, whose office has formal veto power over SGC, had three days earlier announced a ban on student sit-ins, in anticipation of student protest over the referendum. Less than two weeks previously, the Vice President had told SGC that for the rest of the term he would make no decisions directly affecting students without at least consulting SGC. While SGC members were not particularly upset at the time by the substance of the sit-in ban, they did view the Vice President's action as a betrayal of his promise to them. On the day following the referendum, SGC voted to cut its ties with the Office of Student Affairs.

On the same day, a group of faculty members announced that they would not turn in the grades of students who so requested as long as the University cooperated with the Selective Service. The SDS chapter on campus called an all-campus meeting for the next day which was attended by nearly 1,000 people. The decision was reached to hold a "teach-in" the following Monday. Over 4,000 students attended this second gathering; by standing vote the participants approved the demands that the sit-in ban be revoked and that the referendum results be accepted by the University. If the demands were not met, a sit-in was to take place during the lunch hour in the Administration Building lobby a week later.

The President of the University responded with an announcement that three new faculty-student-administration committees would be set up to consider the sit-in ban, ranking, and student participation in University decision-making. This announcement, coming a day before the planned sit-in seriously split SGC, and unquestionably dissipated support for militant action in the general student body. Nevertheless, many students felt that the establishment of committees was not sufficient and 1,500 people turned out for a non-violent sit-in at the Administration Building.

Within the space of a week and a half, then, a relatively militant "popular front" had developed. The longer-term radicals on campus acted as the vanguard, attempting to broaden campus concern to the more general issue of student power at the University. The leadership and ligitimacy which SGC brought to the protest -- especially in the crucial role played by its strong and effective President -- were, however, much more important for most participants. As at other universities, the front consisted of a number of traditionally nonactivist groups -- Young Democrats, some fraternities and sororities -- and a great many other segments of the student population which had previously not been involved in protests of New Left campus groups.

We added a series of questions in the senior questionaires which aimed at understanding participation and interest in these events (Part III, Questions 58-69). These questions covered the following issues: Perception and evaluation of the different university actors in the event (University administration, Student Government Council, faculty, activist students); feelings about the issues of student power; sources of information about the events; actual extent of participation in the events; self-reported effects of participation. For the purposes of the analyses in the following chapter we are particularly interested in the question of actual participation. Students were asked to indicate which of a listing of activities they had engaged in (Part III, Question 58). On the basis of responses to this question, students were divided into four groups: the "no involvement" students who had participated in no events; the students who had voted in the referendum on student ranking but had ;indicated no other participation or involvement; students who indicated some activism and involvement by attending one of the larger all-campus meetings around the issues; and finally, a "high involvement" group that had either attended more than one all-campus meeting, or had indicated a more active commitment, for example, by participating in one of the sit-ins at the Administration Building. These four groups then form a student activism "scale" which will be the basis of our analysis in this chapter.

Relation to Attitudes Toward Residential College

Before proceeding in the remainder of this chapter to an analysis of the correlates of the students' involvement in this activist protest, it is of interest to examine the extent to which this involvement is related to the type of educational criticism reflected in attitudes to the Residential College. To what extent do the same or different people express these two types of criticism and protest? The data are presented in Table III-1.

It is clear in Table III-1 that there is a relationship between our measures of educational and political protest. It should be noted, however, that a large part of the relationship derives from the fact that students who never heard of the Residential College tend also to be those who had no involvement at all in the student activist issues. As has often been observed, a large group of students go through their college experience completely focussed on classes and their immediate social world, without being tuned in at all to the broader college world around them. If we look only at the distinction between those who favor the Residential College and those who were not interested in it, the relationship is much less striking, there is still some apparent relationship, although it is not statistically significant.

Somewhat stronger indication that there is some overlap between students who are interested in the Residential College and those who are involved in student activist issues, appears in Table III-2. This table relates the feelings about the Residential College to the position the student took on the issues that were involved in the activist protest in the fall of 1966. One of the questions (Part III, Question 62) in the series of questions about this protest listed seven of the major incidents or actions that were central in the series of events that comprised the confrontation, for example, "The University Administration's response to the request from the House Un-American Activities Committee, "the proposal by some faculty members not to turn in grades because they are used for ranking". The students were asked to rank

TABLE III-1

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Student Activism

	Males				Females			
	Favor RC (N=43)	Uncertain (N=62)	Do Not Favor RC (N=69)	Never Heard of RC (N=99)	Favor RC (N=30)	Uncertain (N=46)	Do Not Favor RC (N=86)	Never Heard of RC (N=96)
Student Activism								
No involvement	9%	24%	28%	45%	27%	11%	28%	43%
Vote in referendum	24	23	20	18	10	46	27	32
Attend one meeting	16	29	17	23	33	17	24	18
High involvement	51	24	35	14	30	26	21	7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chi^2 (all cols.) =33.940, df=9, p=.001 Chi^2 (all cols.) =33.043, df=9, p=.001
Chi^2 (col 1 vs.3) = 6.148, df=3, p=NS Chi^2 (col 1 vs.3) = 4.242, df=3, p=NS

the degree of their approval or disapproval of each of these actions or events, and their responses were summarized into the index which is related to attitudes toward the Residential College in Table III-2. As indicated in this table, a very clear relationship exists: Those students who favor the Residential College are more approving of the activist position.

In summary, whether student activism is measured by one's attitudes toward the events of 1966 (Table III-2) or by actual involvement and participation in these events (Table III-1) the data indicate that there is some overlap between sympathy and involvement in politically-oriented student activism, and the educational criticism of the multiversity. To some extent, the same students are expressing both types of protest. However, by no means a very strong and striking one. This is particularly true if we look at the relationship with actual participation in the activist protest. Many student activists do not indicate any interest in the Residential College, and many interested in the Residential College were not involved in the issues of student activism. Thus in our comparison of the correlates of these two critiques in this chapter, we will expect to find both common and differentiating characteristics.

In the remainder of the chapter we will look at the same set of questions examined in Chapter II, this time relating the student responses to student activism, rather than to attitudes toward the Residential College. The focus of this chapter will be comparative, stressing the ways in which findings on activism repeat or contradict those on the Residential College. We are interested in this chapter in delineating those factors which relate to both political activism and an educational critique, and those factors which differentiate the two types of protest.

One caution should be kept in mind in reviewing these comparative findings. In the analysis of attitudes toward the Residential College, we eliminated the uninvolved students (those who never heard of the Residential College) and focussed on a comparison of those who favored and those who did not favor the Residential College. In our analysis of student activism, we do not have a comparable "anti" activist group. The "no involved" group in our activism scale is a combination of students opposed to activism and those who are just uninvolved in any university issues beyond their immediate concerns. In terms of obtaining statistically significant findings, this maximizes the possibility of finding relationships with activism, since the noninvolved students tend to be different from involved students regardless of the nature of involvement; statistically significant differences should be obtained not only because of differences reflecting the activism issue, but also because of differences reflecting the involvement issue. This means that in instances where we find factors related to attitudes toward the Residential College but not to activism, the results are particularly striking; but it will also mean caution is needed to interpret findings where we find factors that are significantly related to activism but not to attitudes toward the Residential College. In the latter instances, we will have to look carefully at the data to ascertain that the findings on activism are not just a function of the differences between the noninvolved group and the other three groups of students.

TABLE III-2

Relationship Between Attitudes Toward Residential College and Position on Issues of Student Activist-University Confrontation

	Males			
	Favor RC (N=43)	Uncertain (N=62)	Do Not Favor RC (N=69)	Never Heard of RC (N=99)
Position on Student Activism Issues (Means on 25-point scale, 1=student activist position)	8.13	11.03	12.57	13.27

F(all cols.) = 8.901, p = .001
F(col.1 vs.3)=14.015, p = .001

	Females			
	(N=30)	(N=46)	(N=86)	(N=96)
Position on Student Activism Issues (Means on 25-point scale, 1=student activist position)	8.83	10.67	11.42	12.26

F(all cols.) = 3.859, p = .05
F(col.1 vs.3)= 5.263, p = .05

The discussion of the data in this chapter will follow the organization of the preceding chapter, looking first at factors reflecting "personal characteristics" and then at those representing "reactions to the college experience." In order to facilitate comparisons we will look at the different questions in the same order utilized in the preceeding chapter.

Personal Characteristics

Orientations Toward College

In the preceding chapter, we saw that attitudes toward the Residential College clearly reflected a student's general orientations toward college, the things he looked for in the college experience. This was evident both in response to the questions which asked him to identify his general subcultural orientations and the "type of student" he was (Table II-1), and to the questions probing more specifically at his intellectual, vocational, and collegiate orientations (Tables II-2, II-3 and II-4).

In general, very similar results appear when we relate thse questions to student activism. (Tables III-3 to III-6).[1] This is particularly true in the student's self-identification on the four Clark-Trow subcultures and ten "student types". (Table III-3). We find very strikingly, for both men and women, that the activists, like the students who favor the Residential College, identify strongly with the nonconformist subculture and very strongly reject the vocational. Again, as we found in the Residential College analysis, the academic and collegiate findings are somewhat less clear and consistent. Furthermore, when, in the ten student types, we separate the academic subculture into the general intellectuals and the students with more narrow academic concerns, the parallel findings continue: The activists, like the students favoring the Residential College, very clearly identify as intellectuals, but not as more narrowly defined academic types ("the students who are most concerned about studying, keeping up with course work, getting good grades"). Finally, when the "nonconformist" subculture is divided intoits "political" and "cultural" components, we find that the activists, like the students who favored the Residential College, more often identify themselves with both types of nonconformity, as "students who are most concerned about social and political issues" and as "the creative perhaps nonconformist students".

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[1] To facilitate the comparisons with Chapter II, the tables in that chapter are always two numbers lower than the parallel tables on this chapter, i.e., Table III-3 parallels Table II-1, Table III-15 parallels Table II-13, etc.

TABLE III-3

Relationship Between Student Activism and Identification with Student Typologies

	Males				
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=55)	Attend One Meeting (N=58)	High Involvement (N=75)	Significance Tests
Identification with Clark-Trow Subcultural Typologies					
Mean Ranking Given To: (4 Ranks, 1=High)					
Vocational	2.14	2.31	2.60	3.20	F = 15.405, p = .001
Academic	2.25	1.91	2.08	1.94	F = 2.688, p = .05
Collegiate	2.13	2.36	2.02	2.13	F = 0.845, p = NS
Nonconformist	3.33	3.42	3.16	2.59	F = 7.790, p = .001
Identification with Different Student Types					
Proportion who feel they are similar to:					
"intellectuals"	24%	33%	40%	51%	Chi^2 = 13.281, df = 3, p = .01
"partying types"	19%	18%	31%	16%	Chi^2 = 5.207, df = 3, p = NS
"creative, nonconformists"	12%	16%	16%	28%	Chi^2 = 7.679, df = 3, p = .10

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TABLE III-3 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Identification with Student Typologies

Males

Identification with Different Student Types (cont.)	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=55)	Attend One Meeting (N=58)	High Involvement (N=75)	Significance Tests
Proportion who feel they are similar to:					
"religious, ethnic"	5%	6%	3%	5%	$\text{Chi}^2 = 0.333$, df = 3, p = NS
"athletes"	14%	4%	12%	8%	$\text{Chi}^2 = 4.728$, df = 3, p = NS
"concerned with field or occupation"	35%	38%	33%	24%	$\text{Chi}^2 = 3.590$, df = 3, p = NS
"concerned with social-political issues"	12%	11%	17%	33%	$\text{Chi}^2 = 15.542$, df = 3, p = .01
"concerned with studying--getting good grades"	42%	44%	40%	37%	$\text{Chi}^2 = 0.671$, df = 3, p = NS
"concerned with campus issues and events"	19%	0%	3%	17%	$\text{Chi}^2 = 25.308$, df = 3, p = .001
"casual...average types"	37%	42%	40%	21%	$\text{Chi}^2 = 7.910$, df = 3, p = .05

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TABLE III-3 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Identification with Student Typologies

	Females				
	No Involvement (N=78)	Vote in Referendum (N=82)	Attend One Meeting (N=56)	High Involvement (N=45)	Significance Tests
Identification with Clark-Trow Subcultural Typologies					
Mean Ranking Given To: (4 Ranks, 1=High)					
Vocational	2.29	2.68	2.95	3.31	F = 11.831, p = .001
Academic	2.24	2.29	2.29	1.91	F = 2.384, p = NS
Collegiate	1.86	1.66	2.05	2.22	F = 3.110, p = .05
Nonconformist	3.51	3.32	2.70	2.53	F = 11.637, p = .001
Identification with Different Student Types					
Proportion who feel they are similar to:					
"intellectuals"	30%	28%	46%	53%	$Chi^2 = 12.017$, df = 3, p = .01
"partying types"	10%	21%	23%	13%	$Chi^2 = 5.316$, df = 3, p = NS
"creative, nonconformists"	12%	15%	25%	36%	$Chi^2 = 12.835$, df = 3, p = .01

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TABLE III-3 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Identification with Student Typologies

	Females				
Identification with Different Student Types (cont.)	No Involvement (N=78)	Vote in Referendum (N=82)	Attend One Meeting (N=56)	High Involvement (N=45)	Significance Tests
Proportion who feel they are similar to:					
"religious, ethnic"	3%	7%	7%	7%	Chi^2 = 2.104, df = 3, p = NS
"athletes"	-	-	-	-	-
"concerned with field or occupation"	24%	29%	30%	24%	Chi^2 = 0.949, df = 3, p = NS
"concerned with social-political issues"	12%	11%	14%	42%	Chi^2 = 24.058, df = 3, p = .001
"concerned with studying--getting good grades"	42%	54%	39%	29%	Chi^2 = 7.790, df = 3, p = .10
"concerned with campus issues and events"	3%	6%	9%	22%	Chi^2 = 15.163, df = 3, p = .01
"casual...average types"	55%	56%	43%	27%	Chi^2 = 12.542, df = 3, p = .01

In summary then, in their responses to the questions asking for their very general subcultural and typological identifications, we find the student activists presenting a picture very similar to that of the students rejecting the multiversity and desiring a Residential College experience. They tend to identify as intellectuals and political and personal nonconformists, and to reject a norrowly defined vocationalism and academic orientation.

These descriptions of the political activists and educational critics become somewhat more differentiated when we look at the questions that probed more specifically into three of these major subcultural orientations -- the intellectual, the vocational and the collegiate. (Tables III-4 to III-6). Although here too most of the findings are consistent with those in the Residential College analysis, there are some interesting differences.

The relationship between student activism and the student's intellectual and aesthetic interests appears in Table III-4. The findings replicate those which predominate in the research on student activists, in showing that activists are recruited from the students who are most highly intellectually involved and concerned. What is interesting in the comparison with the Residential College findings is that this is, if anything, even more true for the political activists than it was for those making an educational critique, at least with respect to the women students. It will be recalled from the discussion of the preceding chapter that in general the relationships between intellectual orientations and attitudes toward the Residential College were not particularly striking for the women students. We suggested that the Residential College might present a somewhat ambivalent environment for the intellectually oriented woman student. This does not seem to be true with respect to involvement in political radical activity. Student activism is just as clearly related to the intellectual orientations of the women students as of the men.

The findings on the questions on vocational interests and orientations (Table III-5) also parallel those of the Residential College analysis, although again with a couple of added differentiations and refinements. As presented in Table III-5, the findings are similar in that activists are not rejecting the notion that an important function of college is to help a student think through the occupational area. Rather, the activists, like the students favoring the Residential College, are rejecting a vocationalism that is very narrowly defined and that focusses on a materialistic orientation toward the world of work. Thus, the clearest relationship in Table III-5, as it was in the comparable table in the Residential College analysis, is with the responses to the index that measures a materialistic orientation to the world of work (as indicated in the importance one gives to external rewards in listing the reasons given for choosing one's prospective occupation. The political activists, like the students who favor the Residential College, much more clearly reject the importance of these external rewards.

TABLE III-4

Relationship Between Student Activism and Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations

	Males				Females			
Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations	No Involvement (N=95)	Vote in Referendum (N=113)	Attend One Meeting (N=163)	High Involvement (N=173)	No Involvement (N=71)	Vote in Referendum (N=114)	Attend One Meeting (N=210)	High Involvement (N=201)
Complexity Scale of the OPI (Mean on 23-point scale, 23=high)	14.09	14.47	14.98	17.32	12.59	12.68	15.86	19.07
	F = 6.636, p = .001				F = 20.215, p = .001			
Aestheticism Scale of the OPI (Means on 23-point scale, 23=high)	10.81	12.26	13.02	14.38	13.90	14.29	16.92	18.02
	F = 6.386, p = .001				F = 12.802, p = .001			
Thinking Introversion Scale of the OPI (Means on 31-point scale, 31=high)	15.66	18.42	18.38	20.25	16.35	17.90	18.88	20.74
	F = 13.827, p = .001				F = 9.649, p = .001			
Theoretical Orientation Scale of the OPI (Means on 30-point scale, 30=high)	17.84	19.33	18.95	19.64	14.69	16.54	17.22	18.33
	F = 2.439, p = NS				F = 7.264, p = .001			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-4 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=95)	Vote in Referendum (N=113)	Attend One Meeting (N=163)	High Involvement (N=173)	No Involvement (N=71)	Vote in Referendum (N=114)	Attend One Meeting (N=210)	High Involvement (N=201)
Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations (cont.)								
Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations Toward Life (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high)	3.74	4.16	4.22	4.46	4.11	4.33	4.90	5.09
	F = 3.997, p = .05				F = 8.857, p = .001			
Significance of "exploring new ideas" as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	2.37	2.58	2.65	2.72	2.51	2.64	2.78	2.81
	F = 7.476, p = .001				F = 5.154, p = .01			
Extent of "serious reading" (Means on 3-point scale, 1="alot"	2.54	2.51	2.27	2.21	2.50	2.51	2.37	2.06
	F = 4.637, p = .01				F = 5.726, p = .001			
Number of Books Owned (Means on 7-point scale, 7=over 200)	2.75	3.14	3.32	4.13	3.20	3.99	3.59	4.43
	F = 5.636, p = .001				F = 5.222, p = .01			

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TABLE III-4 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=95)	Vote in Referendum (N=113)	Attend One Meeting (N=163)	High Involvement (N=173)	No Involvement (N=71)	Vote in Referendum (N=114)	Attend One Meeting (N=210)	High Involvement (N=201)
Intellectual-Aesthetic Orientations (cont.)								
Significance of "discussing" ideas, intellectual exchange..." Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.66	2.28	2.22	2.11	2.39	2.06	2.03	1.62
	F = 5.522, p = .01				F = 7.287, p = .001			
Significance of "experiences with music, drama, art" Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	3.22	3.04	3.03	3.09	2.90	2.52	2.36	2.15
	F = 0.420, p = NS				F = 6.039, p = .001			

TABLE III-5

Relationship Between Student Activism and Vocational Orientations

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Vocational Orientations								
Significance of "thinking through...occupation and career..." as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	2.66	2.70	2.58	2.49	2.76	2.79	2.66	2.60
	F = 2.084, p = NS				F = 2.153, p = NS			
Significance of "developing...professional grasp of a...field of study" as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	2.48	2.40	2.23	2.03	2.39	2.39	2.36	2.21
	F = 7.389, p = .001				F = 0.981, p = NS			
Reasons for Choice of Occupation								
Self Expression (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high)	6.39	6.84	7.11	6.58	6.31	6.65	6.47	7.20
	F = 1.839, p = NS				F = 1.752, p = NS			
External Rewards (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	6.32	5.61	5.75	4.70	4.30	4.27	3.97	2.82
	F = 4.329, p = .01				F = 4.369, p = .01			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-5 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Vocational Orientations

Reasons for Choice of Occupation (cont.)	Males No Involvement (N=85)	Males Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Males Attend One Meeting (N=60)	Males High Involvement (N=75)	Females No Involvement (N=80)	Females Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Females Attend One Meeting (N=59)	Females High Involvement (N=47)
Freedom from Pressure (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high)	2.81	2.93	2.56	2.96	2.19	2.16	2.47	2.43
	F = 1.000, p = NS				F = 1.008, p = NS			
Involvement with People and Social Value (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high)	4.12	4.21	5.00	4.75	4.61	5.12	4.83	5.07
	F = 3.914, p = .01				F = 1.374, p = NS			

However, there are a couple of findings in Table III-5 that are somewhat different than those in the comparable table in the preceding chapter. Men activists do assign less importance as a college goal to the item "developing a deep perhaps professional grasp of a specific field of study." Among political activists, particularly men, there is a strong rejection of professionalism. We will comment more fully on this issue in Chapter IV. Also, Table III-5 suggests that political activists may be somewhat more interested in occupations that give them a chance to be involved with people and to express their social values, although it should be noted that this relationship does not appear for the women and is not a clear monotonic relationship even for the men. In general, despite these exceptions, the findings on vocationalism are very similar to those we discussed in Chapter II. The main issue for activists and students favoring the Residential College is the rejection of a narrow vocationalism that excludes others concerns in the college enfironment and of a materialistic orientation toward work and career that might limit the commitment to other values.

Table III-6 presents the relationship between activism and collegiate orientations. Here we find less duplication of the pattern observed in the analysis of the relationship between collegiate orientations and attitudes toward the Residential College. Involvement in activism, like a positive attitude toward the Residential College, is associated with a negative attitude toward fraternities and sororities. This is as expected, since the Greek system tends to become a symbol of conservatism and adherence to the status quo. But, unlike the findings in the preceding chapter, we find no differences between high and low activists in the significance they give to the types of activities that have usually been defined as part of the collegiate orientation. Activists are just as involved as nonactivists in extracurricular activities and student groups and do not differ from them in the importance they give to "partying" and "fun." We will see in a later discussion (Table III-23 below) that dating patterns of activists and nonactivists also do not differ. Perhaps most surprising, although activists are more rejecting in their attitudes toward fraternities and sororities, amont the men students they do not differ in their actual fraternity membership. It is important in this connection to stress that our "high involvement" activist group had a broad base in this particular protest, because of internal university issues of student power and control. This chapter is not an analysis of the small group of committed radicals, although they are obviously included in the high involvement group.[2] But even granted this, the finding on fraternity membership does point up the questionable validity of some stereotypes about fraternities and sororities, at least at Michigan in the 1960's.

Two issues seem to be operating to differentiate the responses of the activists on collegiate orientations from those of students who favor the Residential College. Activists seem to be much more involved in campus activities than are the educational critics. The kinds of campus groups and activities they are involved in are often different than those that are usually associated with the "collegiate orientation"; but the fact remains that despite their confrontation with the University they do have an

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[2] Chapter IV focuses on the small group of committed redicals.

TABLE III-6

Relationship Between Student Activism and Collegiate Orientations

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Collegiate Orientations								
Significance of Collegiate Experiences in College (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	5.87	5.51	6.57	5.60	5.62	5.52	5.29	4.57
	F = 2.057, p = NS				F = 1.941, p = NS			
Significance of "parties" and "dating" (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	6.66	6.98	7.98	6.72	7.58	8.22	8.22	7.65
	F = 2.661, p = .05				F = 1.382, p = NS			
Significance of "having fun" as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	1.93	1.77	1.92	1.79	2.08	2.12	2.12	1.92
	F = 1.094, p = NS				F = 1.204, p = NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-6 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Collegiate Orientations

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Collegiate Orientations cont.								
Attitudes Toward Fraternities and Sororities (Means on 5-point scale, 1=favorable)	2.38	2.38	2.33	3.07	2.67	2.52	2.97	3.15
	F = 5.621, p = .001				F = 3.525, p = .05			
Proportion of Students Living in Fraternities or Sororities	9%	14%	15%	9%	18%	36%	15%	23%
	Chi^2=1.781, df=3, p=NS				Chi^2=12.155, df=3, p=.01			

involvement in it and with some of its formally recognized groups and activities. The other issue is that the student activists seem to be more socially and interpersonally active than are the students interested in the Residential College. To some extent the Residential College seems to appeal not only to students with an ideological commitment to change, but also to those who feel it might provide an environment where it would be easier for them to form friends and to integrate socially. This would not be true for students making an active political commitment. In summary, then, while the political activists are anti-collegiate in the narrowly defined sense of rejecting what the Greek system supposedly represents, they do have some of the campus and social involvements that are part of the collegiate orientation, more than do the students favoring the Residential College.

To summarize this section's discussion of the student's orientations toward college, most of the findings suggest that the two types of protest flow from similar basic orientations to the college experience and conceptions of what college should foster and develop. Particularly clear are the findings that both types of critics identify themselves as broad intellectuals and nonconformists and reject any narrowly defined orientation to the college experience that would tend to exclude broader concerns. Thus, they reject a narrow and materialistic vocationalism, a narrow academic orientation, and the restricted approach to the University reflected in the stereotype of the fraternity-sorority system. But two important differences do occur. One is that intellectualism, which was much more clearly related to a preference for the Residential College for men than for the women, is equally relevant to both men and women in relation to political activism. Intellectual women do not seem to have the ambivalence over expressing themselves in political activism that they had in relation to the Residential College. The second important difference is that some of the possible inhibitions and hesitancies in interpersonal relationships that may be a factor in the desire for the Residential College do not seem relevant for political protest and activism.

Value Orientations

In the preceding chapter we observed that the rejection of the educational status quo was related to a general tendency to be more questioning of traditional values. We would expect this would be even more true for the political activists, and we see this confirmed in the findings in Table III-7. In their self-concepts as nontraditional, in their questioning of absolute and conservative values as measured by the Social Maturity scale of the OPI, and in their questioning of religious traditionalism, we find that the highly involved political activists are much more opposed to traditional values than are those students with less political involvement. The only difference with the parallel findings in Table II-5 of Chapter II, is that the results are even more striking here, particularly for the women students. It will be recalled that the relationships between nontraditionalism and favoring the Residential College were not statistically significant for the women students. In Table III-7 we see that the relationships for the women are just as striking and significant as for the men.

TABLE III-7

Relationship Between Student Activism and Traditional Values

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Self-Concept as Traditional (Means on 19-point scale, 19=traditional)	9.76	8.97	8.95	6.37	10.83	10.50	8.27	5.77
	F = 13.075, p = .001				F = 23.027, p = .001			
Social Maturity Scale of the OPI (Means on 37-point scale, 37=high)	26.32	27.75	26.82	29.46	25.09	25.30	28.80	30.76
	F = 5.876, p = .001				F = 16.129, p = .001			
Religious Liberalism Scale of the OPI (Means on 29-point scale, 29=high)	15.91	17.30	17.70	18.69	14.75	16.02	18.34	19.78
	F = 4.269, p = .01				F = 11.113, p = .001			

This difference in the nontraditionalism of the women activists and educational critics, parallels the findings on intellectualism, where we also found that relationships between intellectual orientations and attitudes toward the Residential College were less clear and significant for the women than were the relationships between intellectual orientations and political activism. This pattern is further confirmed when we go from the general issue of nontraditionalism to the specific question of liberalism or conservatism in the political area. In the preceding chapter we saw that the relationships between a political liberal ideology and favoring the Residential College were not as significant for the women students. In contrast, we see in Table III-8 that the expected relationship between activism and political liberalism is just as striking for women as for men. In general, then, we find that political activism, unlike the interest in the Residential College, is for women as it is for men, a clear unambivalent expression of a more general intellectual and liberal ideological commitment. This is not surprising, since we would expect student activism to have this broader ideological base. What was unexpected was that these relationships were tempered when we looked at women's reactions to the Residential College, and we have attempted to suggest some reasons why these expected relationships did not clearly appear.

Personality "Identity" Characteristics

We expected that political activism would be related to a liberal political ideology and a general questioning of traditional values. It is less clear what one would expect to find when relating political activism to more general personality characteristics, particularly the identity issues that are the focus of interest in the personality area in this study. Since educational innovations like the Residential College are directed toward helping a student think through personal as well as intellectual concerns, we expected that students who favored the Residential College would be more focused on identity issues and more oriented toward seeing the college experience as helping them define themselves and their relationship to the social world. It is less clear, however, what one would predict with respect to political activists. On the one hand, their active concern with values and with formulating a personal stance on social issues would make one predict that they would tend to be students more actively engaged in the identity search, particularly around issues of commitment and the thinking through of values. On the other hand, since they are more clearly acting on their values and oriented toward confronting and manipulating social reality, one might expect to less often find in them the introspectiveness and inward-turning of the identity searchers.

The findings on these issues are presented in Tables III-9 through III-12. The data present an interesting pattern. In Table III-9, which focuses on the salience of identity issues and the extent to which students are actively engaged in the identity-searching process, we do tend to find a relationship between concern with these identity issues and involvement in political activism. Although the findings are not statistically significant in all instances, they do tend to present a consistent picture in this direction. As was true with respect to the parallel data in Chapter II,

TABLE III-8

Relationship Between Student Activism and Political Attitudes and Interests

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Political Attitudes								
Degree of Political Interest (Means on 19-point scale, 19= high interest)	12.74	13.39	13.25	15.89	10.48	10.75	11.14	14.00
	F = 9.191, p = .001				F = 7.892, p = .001			
Domestic Conservatism-Liberalism (Means on 9-point scale, 9= liberal)	5.82	6.11	6.24	7.00	5.55	6.03	6.61	7.38
	F = 6.085, p = .001				F = 14.049, p = .001			
Attitudes Toward Civil Rights (Means on 13-point scale, 13=pro-Civil Rights)	9.06	10.02	9.79	11.12	8.98	9.94	10.46	11.63
	F = 6.855, p = .001				F = 10.180, p = .001			
Attitudes Toward Civil Liberties (Means on 17-point scale, 17=pro Civil Liberties)	10.92	13.27	11.79	14.64	10.58	11.50	12.83	14.87
	F = 15.592, p = .001				F = 20.121, p = .001			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-8 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Political Attitudes and Interests

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Political Attitudes (cont.)								
Attitudes Toward Foreign Affairs (Means on 13-point scale, 1=militaristic position)	6.16	7.73	7.05	9.04	6.72	7.28	8.07	9.38
	F = 13.321, p = .001				F = 12.978, p = .001			
Attitudes Toward Student Interest in Political Action (Means on 5-point scale, 5=approve student political action)	3.57	3.90	4.02	4.50	3.94	4.17	4.32	4.61
	F = 17.441, p = .001				F = 10.874, p = .001			
Attitudes Toward Vietnam War								
Withdraw Completely	13%	24%	6%	28%	17%	12%	18%	43%
Adopt More Conciliatory Position	34	35	49	47	38	51	58	52
Continue Present Policy	18	19	14	10	23	22	11	5
Adopt Stronger Military Position	35	22	31	15	22	15	13	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	Chi^2 = 22.292, df = 9, p = .01				Chi^2 = 32.050, df = 9, p = .001			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-8 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Political Attitudes and Interests

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Political Affiliation								
Republican	44%	36%	31%	20%	46%	35%	22%	9%
Independent	24	36	30	30	20	22	29	35
Democrat	30	25	39	42	34	43	49	52
Radical	2	3	0	8	0	0	0	4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Males: Chi^2 = 19.260, df=9, p=.05

Females: Chi^2 = 31.254, df=9, p=.001

TABLE III-9

Relationship Between Student Activism and "Identity-Seeking Orientations

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
"Identity-Seeking" Orientations								
Significance of "Identity-Seeking" as a College Goal (Means on 5-point scale, 5=high)	3.68	4.25	4.17	4.25	4.15	4.30	4.51	4.57
	F = 7.335, p = .001				F = 3.936, p = .01			
Achievement of Identity Goals in College (Means on 7-point scale, 7= high)	5.08	5.53	5.64	5.68	5.58	5.78	5.86	5.98
	F = 3.629, p = .05				F = 1.452, p = NS			
Degree of Concern Over the Question, "Who Am I..." (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	2.35	2.09	2.14	1.96	2.28	2.15	2.05	1.98
	F = 3.745, p = .05				F = 2.214, p = NS			
Degree of Self-Criticism and Self-Questioning (Means on 4-point scale, 1="very self-critical")	2.17	2.05	2.10	2.07	2.01	2.08	2.09	1.85
	F = 0.374, p = NS				F = 1.444, p = NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-9 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and "Identity-Seeking" Orientations

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
"Identity-Seeking" Orientations (cont.)								
Bothered by Difficulty in "Finding" Self (Means on 4-point scale, 1=bothered "a great deal"	3.88	3.54	3.67	3.36	3.60	3.33	3.09	3.00
	$F = 3.694$, $p = .05$				$F = 4.771$, $p = .01$			
Proportion Who Used College Psychological Counseling Service	12%	18%	17%	18%	13%	13%	17%	30%
	$Chi^2 = 1.613$, $df = 3$, p = NS				$Chi^2 = 7.587$, $df = 3$, $p = .10$			

the findings are somewhat clearer and more significant for the men than for the women, but the tendencies are there for the women as well (and statistically significant on two of the measures in the table). To some extent, then, political activists seem more involved in the search for self-definition and commitment to some central integrative values and their political activity may be seen as one aspect of this search for definition and commitment. In this area the findings on political activism largely parallel those on reactions to the Residential College.

However, in other measures in the identity area, the findings on the two types of protest diverge somewhat. The self-questioning and uncertainty about one's value positions that are usually characteristic of the "identity searchers," and which for the men students were related to favoring the Residential College, are not related to political activism. This is seen in a comparison of a number of the findings in Tables III-9, III-10 and III-11 with those from the parallel tables in Chapter II. In the findings in the preceding chapter, we noted (for the men students) that those who favored the Residential College were more self-questioning on the question asking them "how self-critical are you - how often do you have the feeling that you're missing your own ideals by some margin - never quite living up to your ideals?" (Table II-7); more often indicated that in college they experienced a good deal of self-questioning and uncertainty in deciding what their position should be on critical ethical, moral, and sexual standards and values (Table II-8); and also indicated more concern about their personal adequacy and their adequacy in their heterosexual role (Table II-9). None of these findings are replicated in the parallel tables on political activism in this chapter.

This seems to reflect a crucial difference between some of the general personal underpinnings of the educational and political forms of criticism and protest. Students particularly interested in educational innovations like the Residential College seem to be more uncertain about some of their basic personal and value anchors and may be interested in a more intimate and individualized educational experience as a way of helping them think through these issues. But involvement in political protest seems to imply a commitment that depends on some resolution and certainty about these personality and value issues. While in a very general sense, student activists seem to be involved in the identity search, the fact of their activity implies a certain amount of commitment and certainty about the self and one's central values.[3]

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[3] It will be noted in Table III-12 that there are some statistically significant relationships between involvement in political activism and identity concerns in the occupational area. However, among the men students the relationships are mainly a function of the distinction between students who have no involvement at all in student activism and the other three groups. The fact that the noninvolved students spent less thought in the vocational decision process, and were less often bothered by difficulties in arriving at this decision, is probably more a reflection of the fact that they are generally less involved in issues at the University than of their lack of involvement specifically in student activism. Among the women students the

TABLE III-10

Relationship Between Student Activism and Value-Identity Concerns

	Males			
	No Involvement (N=83)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=74)
Bothered by Self-Questioning of Ethical and Personal Standards in College (Means on 10-point scale, 10=greatly bothered)	3.74	3.81	3.93	3.91
	F = 0.191, p = NS			
Concern Over Deciding About Sexual Standards (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very concerned)	3.21	2.12	3.27	3.15
	F = 0.343, p = NS			
	Females			
	(N=78)	(N=84)	(N=59)	(N=47)
Bothered by Self-Questioning of Ethical and Personal Standards in College (Means on 10-point scale, 10=greatly bothered)	4.65	4.67	4.36	4.59
	F = 0.451, p = NS			
Concern Over Deciding About Sexual Standards (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very concerned)	2.59	2.25	2.37	2.53
	F = 1.547, p = NS			

TABLE III-11

Relationship Between Student Activism and Concerns About Adequacy

	Males				Females			
Concerns About Adequacy	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=83)	Vote in Referendum (N=59)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Concern About Ability to Succeed (Means on 4-point scale, 1=high concern)	2.47	2.28	2.25	2.47	2.50	2.26	2.39	2.33
	F = 0.982, p = NS				F = 0.811, p = NS			
Concern About Social Popularity (Means on 7-point scale, 1=high concern)	3.63	3.51	3.82	3.62	4.55	4.21	4.51	4.32
	F = 0.381, p = NS				F = 0.645, p = NS			
Concern About Adequacy in Mental and Heterosexual Role (Means on 13-point scale, 1=high concern)	7.81	7.04	7.72	7.34	7.08	6.10	7.15	6.92
	F = 0.820, p = NS				F = 1.593, p = NS			
Concern About Adequacy in Parental Role (Means on 10-point scale, 1=high concern)	8.18	7.68	7.81	7.82	7.10	7.31	7.37	6.68
	F = 0.825, p = NS				F = 0.876, p = NS			
Concern About Personality and "Identity" Adequacy (Means on 16-point scale, 1=high concern)	12.54	13.11	12.90	12.90	12.00	12.18	11.88	11.78
	F = 0.587, p = NS				F = 0.205, p = NS			

TABLE III-12

Relationship Between Student Activism and Occupational Identity Concerns

	Males				Females			
Occupational Identity Concerns	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Degree of Certainty About Vocational Choice (Means on 17-point scale, 17=high)	13.51	12.80	13.53	12.70	12.99	13.26	12.29	12.79
	F = 1.884, p = NS				F = 1.370, p = NS			
Degree of Thought Over Major and Vocational Decisions (Means on 5-point scale, 5=high)	3.85	4.34	3.95	4.20	3.71	4.09	3.56	3.87
	F = 3.359, p = .05				F = 2.575, p = NS			
Bothered by Difficulty in Arriving at Vocational Decision (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	3.94	3.46	3.65	3.47	3.63	3.68	3.59	3.15
	F = 3.369, p = .05				F = 2.780, p = .05			
Proportion Who Experienced Serious Vocational Problems During College	42%	47%	48%	51%	45%	46%	56%	59%
	F = 1.313, df = 3, p = NS				F = 3.447, df = 3, p = NS			

Impulse Expression. We also find differences between students favoring the Residential College and student activists in the other personality area examined in this study that was seen as particularly relevant to personality issues of post-adolescence. We see in Table III-13 that there is a very clear relationship between student activism and impulse expression, with the highly involved activists scoring higher on the scale than the students with minimal involvement.[4]

The interpretation of the meaning of this relationship could easily be colored by one's view of student activism. People sympathetic with student activists could interpret these findings as indicating that activists tend to be less inhibited, freer people with greater access to their feelings and emotions. Those less sympathetic to activists might interpret the findings as indicating lack of proper control, lack of realism, and an infantile demand for instant gratification. Since the Omnibus Personality Inventory was developed as a research rather than individual diagnostic tool, any psychologizing from either perspective is somewhat dangerous. Of concern to our discussion is not the meaning of Table III-13 in itself, but the comparative findings with those in the preceding chapter. It is of particular interest that the relationship between activism and impulse expression was not paralleled in the relationship between impulse expression and attitudes toward the Residential College. This is consistent with the differences in the findings on social outgoingness, dating, and interest in "partying" or "fun" that we have already discussed, where we found that students favoring the Residential College were somewhat less socially active and involved. The Impulse Expression Scale, like the other scales of the OPI, tends to get higher scores from people who are in any way nontraditional and politically liberal. The interesting finding, then, is not that students involved in activism are higher on the Impulse Expression Scale as much as that those

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one statistically sitnificant difference does seem to represent a meaningful relationship between student activism and being bothered by the difficulty in arriving at an occupational decision. This parallels the findings in the previous chapter where we also found that the vocational identity area was more problematic for women who favored the Residential College. This seems to reflect the fact that for women who are in any way nontraditional and questioning of the status quo, issues of occupation and career tend to become highlighted and somewhat problematic.

[4] The relationships, particularly for the men, seem to be somewhat curvilinear, with students having no involvement in student activism as well as students highly involved in activism, showing higher scores in impulse expression than students with minimal involvement. The significance of the relationships, however, are not only reflecting a difference between the noninvolved group and the other three groups. For both the men and the women there are clear relationships within the three groups showing any degree of involvement in student activism, with those highly involved clearly indicating higher scores on impulse expression than those with minimal involvement.

TABLE III-13

Relationship Between Student Activism and Impulse Expression

	Males			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)
Impulse Expression Scale of the OPI (Means on 33-point scale, 33=high)	18.26	16.42	18.62	19.18
	F = 3.386, p = .05			
	Females			
	(N=80)	(N=83)	(N=59)	(N=47)
Impulse Expression Scale of the OPI (Means on 33-point scale, 33=high)	14.63	14.27	17.10	19.52
	F = 11.402, p = .001			

favoring the Residential College are not higher than the other students. This may reflect the fact that, while their nontraditionalism and liberalism might have produced somewhat higher scores on the Impulse Expression Scale, some of the inhibitions we have noted might have led to lower scores, two tendencies effectively cancelling each other out.

There is a tendency, particularly among people unsympathetic to radical activity, to view it as an acting out of personal problems and issues. The comparative findings we have discussed, however, would suggest that this is not true for the political activists as it is for those who are interested in a different kind of educational experience. It is the latter who seem to be more self-questioning and uncertain about some of their central values and commitments, as well, possibly, as involved in working through some inhibitions in the interpersonal area. This does not mean that students interested in educational experiments like the Residential College are looking for an environment to help them with personality "problems"; but they do seem to be clearly interested in an educational experience more addressed to them and their personal needs and interests. At least at the conscious level dealt with in the data of this study, student activism does not seem to appeal to students with special social or personal concerns, or unusual turmoil or uncertainty.

These findings should not be surprising if we take seriously and at face value what the students expressing the two types of protest are telling us. A major charge of most educational critics is that the educational experience focuses too exclusively on cognitive learning and neglects the student's broader personal and developmental interests and needs. We should expect, therefore, that educational innovations addressed to this criticism would appeal to students who are particularly involved in some of these personal and developmental issues. In contrast, the criticism of the student activists focuses on the institution with its internal and external relationships, and is irrelevant to these more personal needs.

Family Relationships

We noted in the discussion of the preceding chapter the somewhat disproportionate interest and fascination that observers, commentators and researchers have had with the background and family relationships of student political activists. As we have noted, this interest has come not only from those inclined to discount activism as a neurotic playing out of parental conflicts; it has also been a focus of interest of sympathetic commentators like Flacks and Keniston, who have studied these family implications as a way of attempting to comprehend the intergenerational meaning and historical implications of activism.

It is not necessarily obvious what implications the different perspectives on activism would have for predicting relationships between student activism and the types of questions about familial relationships that were explored in this study. Predictions are probably clearer for those who approach activism from an unsympathetic perspective. These commentators, whose interpretations of familial relationships serve the function of discounting the meaning of activism as a political protest, would probably make fairly straightforward predictions that activists would have much more conscious disagreement with their parents and much more consciously expressed distance and estrangement from them. The predictions of the sypporters of activism would not be as clear, since they have described a good deal of ambivalence in this area, noting that while activists are expressing a continuity with some of the basic values of their parents, there is at the same time a confrontation with parental "hypocrisy" in that activists are acting on values that parents have professed but not adequately fulfilled in their middle-class suburban lives. However, on the types of very direct and surface questions explored in this study - questions about closeness with parents, parental influence, and the extent of agreement or disagreement on attitudes and values - we would expect that even the sympathizers would predict that there would be more feelings of disagreement, conflict and distance in the activists' responses about their parents. In addition, beyond the issue of whether one takes a sympathetic perspective, such a prediction would also come from other traditions of research and thinking on the college student. For example, the work of Sanford and his colleagues would also predict that the ability to question and criticize societal institutions like the university, as indeed any expression of independence and nonconformity, would be associated with the ability to gain distance from the parents, to look at them objectively and not accept them as all-knowing and powerful.

In our discussion of these issues in the preceding chapter, we noted that there were no clear striking relationships between attitudes toward the Residential College and the students' perceptions of their relationships with their parents. This was particularly true on the questions tapping the emotional relationship - the closeness to parents and the influence students were ready to allow their parents to exert. Differences between students favoring and rejecting the Residential College were somewhat larger (though usually not statistically significant) in response to questions about value and ideological disagreement. The questioning of traditional institutions and ways of doing things that is reflected in the desire for educational innovation, is associated with some ability to gain objectivity and distance from parental ideas and values and to develop one's own ideology and values independent of the parents, but without any unusual tension or emotional estrangement from the parents.

For the men students, this also seems to be the pattern for political activists (see Table III-14). For the men, there is no relationship between student activism and either the feeling of closeness with parents or the readiness to turn to parents for advice. But there are differences, particularly between the son and the father, in the value and ideological area; activism does seem to reflect some value and ideological break with the parents, particularly the father.

Interestingly, the findings for the women students seem to be more general. Among the women, highly involved student activists not only differ in values and ideology with their parents; they also seem to feel more emotionally estranged - less close to both parents and less ready to accept parental influence in important life decisions. It is also interesting that

TABLE III-14

Relationship Between Student Activism and Relationship with Parents

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Closeness to Father (Means on 7-point scale, 1=close)	3.49	3.85	3.30	3.64	3.67	3.05	3.69	4.16
	F = 1.050, p = NS				F = 4.463, p = .01			
Closeness to Mother (Means on 7-point scale, 1=close)	3.41	3.53	3.30	3.42	3.25	2.75	2.93	3.64
	F = 0.194, p = NS				F = 3.013, p = .05			
Parental Influence on Career Choice (Means on 17-point scale, 17=high influence)	5.07	4.51	5.18	4.79	5.08	6.18	5.51	4.30
	F = 0.453, p = NS				F = 2.813, p = .05			
Readiness to Talk with Parents about Problems (Means on 9-point scale, 9=high)	5.69	5.44	6.07	6.22	5.94	6.96	6.64	6.07
	F = 1.058, p = NS				F = 2.243, p = NS			
Value Disagreement with Father (Means on 17-point scale, 17=high disagreement)	4.32	5.08	4.93	5.62	4.88	4.06	5.42	6.41
	F = 2.761, p = .05				F = 6.363, p = .001			

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TABLE III-14 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Relationship with Parents

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Value Disagreement with Mother (Means on 17-point scale, 17=high disagreement)	4.40	4.86	4.92	5.26	4.94	4.20	4.95	6.09
	F = 1.327, p = NS				F = 4.145, p = .01			
Experienced Problems with Parents During College (Means on 7-point scale, 7=problems)	1.87	1.95	2.20	2.15	2.19	2.18	2.12	2.55
	F = 0.835, p = NS				F = 0.917, p = NS			
Proportion Who Feel that Disagreements with Parents Developed During College	22%	42%	37%	35%	38%	44%	44%	45%
	Chi^2 = 7.083, df = 3, p = .10				Chi^2 = 0.990, df = 3, p = NS			

the relationships tend to be curvilinear rather than monotonic. That is, the students closest and most in agreement with their parents are those with some minimal radical involvement, rather than the totally uninvolved. This suggests that the critical iddue with respect to parental relationships for women students is not political involvement per se, but highly active involvement. For women, real activist commitment may represent a more extreme deviation from traditional role and parental expectations than it does for the man who, while not necessarily expected to be radical, is expected to be politically involved and active. Hence, it is possible that highly activist involvement is reacted to as more deviant when it comes in a woman, and is also more reflective of a real break from family expectations.

It is interesting that despite all the discussion on the family backgrounds of student activists, there has been minimal comment on differences between men and women activists in this area. This is particularly surprising for those commentators who have developed various aspects of the Oedipal theme, since this certainly has different implications and meaning for men and women students. This points up the extent to which discussion of the backgrounds of activists has often tended to be rather simplistic and undifferentiated. The findings presented in Table III-14, while certainly no more than suggestive, do point up the complexity of the issues involved in any attempt to understand the familial and intergenerational meaning of activism. (We will explore this area in more detail in Chapter IV.)

Reactions to the Multiversity Experience

Overall Satisfaction with College

It will be recalled from the preceding chapter that two questions were used in this study to tap the students' overall satisfaction with their college experience. One asked indirectly whether the students were satisfied that they came to the University of Michigan rather than to some other school; the other question attempted to get at a more intense reaction than implied in the term "satisfaction," and asked the extent to which students felt their college experience had been a "big and new" experience for them. The relationships between responses to these two questions and student activism are presented in Table III-15.

There is no relationship between student activism and the student's feeling that college represented a new exciting experience; this is similar to the lack of relationship between responses to this question and attitudes toward the Residential College. However, on the question of simple satisfaction, an interesting distinction appears between the responses of the student activists and of those favoring the Residential College. As expected, those students who indicated a desire for the Residential College expressed less satisfaction with their choice of the University of Michigan and more often felt that they might have had a more satisfying experience at some other school (we assume a school more like the Residential College - smaller

TABLE III-15

Relationship Between Student Activism and Satisfaction with College

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=83)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=74)	No Involvement (N=78)	Vote in Referendum (N=84)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Satisfaction with Choice of College (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very satisfied)	1.49	1.46	1.58	1.60	1.50	1.39	1.44	1.57
	F = 0.542, p = NS				F = 1.063, p = NS			
Perception of College as "big and new" Experience (Means on 3-point scale, 1="very big and new")	2.21	2.04	2.15	2.16	2.24	1.99	1.98	2.16
	F = 0.874, p = NS				F = 1.568, p = NS			

and more personalized). However, we see in Table III-15 that there is no relationship between satisfaction with Michigan and student activism. Unlike the students calling for educational reform, the political activists do not seem to be particularly rejecting the multiversity experience. Their protest is more a criticism against all colleges and universities and the role they see the university generally playing in our society. While the criticism of the educational reformers is also a general one, it does dwell particularly on some of the special abuses of the multiversity.

These findings raise questions about solutions to student activist demands that are offered by those who see the problem in terms of the internal structuring and arrangements that are particularly prevalent in a multiversity. The findings also may help explain why all the student activist turmoil does not seem to have resulted in major restructuring of the universities, either in their internal processes or in their curricula. In a sense such responses do not really address themselves to the core of the activist protest, which seems to be more oriented toward the role the university plays in relation to society, rather than the processes going on in the university itself. Findings like this also suggest that the long-range implications of protest for real changes in the university may come from the less violent calls for educational reform than from the political protest that was so visible in the middle and late 1960's.

The Impact of the College Experience

In the preceding chapter we presented the somewhat paradoxical findings that those students dissatisfied with the multiversity experience and looking with favor at the idea of the Residential College, seem to have actually gotten more from the college experience, at least as this is suggested by the impact that college had on them - impact as measured both by their perceptions that they changed during their college years and by objectively measured freshman-to-senior change. It was also noted that these changes occurred not only in the direction of increased political and social liberalism, but also in increased intellectual interests and openness (as measured by the freshman-to-senior change on the intellectual-cognitive scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory). In Table III-16 we now see the same results with respect to student activism. (The main difference between Table III-16 and Table II-14 in the preceding chapter is that the findings for the student activists are equally striking for men and women, whereas the Residential College findings, following the general pattern of sex differences observed throughout Chapter II, were clearer for the men students.) The involved political activists, like the students favoring educational reforms and innovations, seem to have been more responsive to and affected by their college experience. Moreover, while there might be some disagreement as to whether the changes in political and religious "liberalism" reflected in this table necessarily represent a "positive" impact of college, the increased intellectual interests and openness as measured by the intellectual scales of the OPI are certainly among the major impacts of a college education that most educators would see as desirable outcomes.

TABLE III-16

Relationship Between Student Activism and Change During College Years

Self-Perceived Changes	Males No Involvement (N=85)	Males Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Males Attend One Meeting (N=60)	Males High Involvement (N=75)	Females No Involvement (N=80)	Females Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Females Attend One Meeting (N=59)	Females High Involvement (N=47)
Self-Perceived Value and Personal Change (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high change)	4.37	4.79	4.93	5.23	4.87	5.13	5.24	5.38
	F = 5.396, p = .01				F = 1.778, p = NS			
Self-Perceived Increase in Political Interest and Liberalism (Means on 13-point scale, 13=increased interest)	8.93	9.04	9.24	10.24	8.82	9.41	9.24	10.23
	F = 8.155, p = .001				F = 5.769, p = .001			
Self-Perceived Change in Religious and Sexual Values (Means on 13-point scale, 13=increased traditionalism)	5.24	4.79	4.86	4.53	5.18	5.40	4.74	4.13
	F = 1.563, p = NS				F = 4.200, p = .01			
Self-Perceived Change in Clarity of Life Goals (Means on 9-point scale, 9=greater clarity)	6.81	7.39	6.83	6.68	7.08	7.37	6.93	6.79
	F = 1.983, p = NS				F = 1.468, p = NS			

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TABLE III-16 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Change During College Years

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Self-Perceived Changes (cont.)								
Self-Perceived Change in Academic-Intellectual Interest (Means on 13-point scale, 13=greater interest)	9.12	9.18	9.63	9.16	8.76	9.68	8.76	9.09
	F = 0.815, p = NS				F = 3.401, p = .05			
Freshman-Senior Objective Changes								
Change in Complexity Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	-0.42	-0.10	+0.06	+1.98	-0.79	-1.04	+0.92	+2.63
	F = 4.791, p = .01				F = 8.323, p = .001			
Change in Aestheticism Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	-1.49	-0.67	-0.11	+1.00	-0.60	0.00	+1.67	+2.04
	F = 5.172, p = .01				F = 8.551, p = .001			
Change in Thinking Introversion Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	-1.48	+0.37	-0.40	+0.91	-1.49	-0.24	-0.13	+1.64
	F = 4.722, p = .01				F = 5.910, p = .001			

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TABLE III-16 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Change During College Years

Freshman-Senior Objective Changes (cont.)	Males: No Involvement (N=85)	Males: Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Males: Attend One Meeting (N=60)	Males: High Involvement (N=75)	Females: No Involvement (N=80)	Females: Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Females: Attend One Meeting (N=59)	Females: High Involvement (N=47)
Change in Theoretical Orientation Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	+0.05	+0.06	+0.18	+0.62	-1.41	-0.06	-0.34	+1.29
	F = 0.379, p = NS				F = 4.589, p = .01			
Change in Social Maturity Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Score)	-0.53	-0.05	-0.77	+1.06	-1.36	-1.15	+1.94	+2.10
	F = 2.692, p = .05				F = 11.487, p = .001			
Change in Religious Liberalism Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	-0.51	-0.05	+0.76	+0.80	-0.74	-0.18	+1.51	+1.43
	F = 1.936, p = NS				F = 4.834, p = .01			
Change in Impulse Expression Scale of the OPI (Mean Residual Change Scores)	+0.19	-0.24	-0.27	+1.03	-0.72	-1.50	+0.93	+2.65
	F = 0.968, p = NS				F = 9.563, p = .001			

We noted the importance of findings such as these in our discussion of the parallel data in Chapter II. They underscore the extent to which the activist protest has come from the most intellectually involved and committed students. Moreover, since the data in this table indicate that the involvement is not just a function of predispositions brought to college, but also represents a greater change in intellectual involvement during the college years, student activism does not seem to be the non-intellectual expression of those who did well academically and intellectually up until their college years, and in college have attempted to throw over the whole academic and intellectual burden in an irrational and anti-intellectual expression. Regardless of the anti-intellectual tone of some of the activist rhetoric or actions, it is clear that the criticiwm and protest has come from those students who are most intellectually involved and responsive. One cannot dismiss the protest as the expression of students (or nonstudents) attempting to abandon or short-circuit the intellectual enterprise.[5]

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[5] The fact that student activism is related to change in college is particularly important to stress because so many commentators have emphasized the selection and predispositional factors in activism. While Table III-16 is concerned with changes during college, we should point out that our data also indicate these predispositional factors. When we relate the students' activism in their senior year to their scores as entering freshmen on the seven OPI scales, we find among the women students a clear relationship, statistically significant in all cases except impulse expression where the relationship is not quite significant at the .05 level. Women students who later became activists were already as entering freshmen clearly more intellectually and culturally involved on the four intellectual scales, and more liberal and open as measured by the Social Maturity, Religious Liberalism and Impulse Expression scales. Among the men, parallel relationships appear, except with respect to Impulse Expression, where there were no differences as entering freshmen between the students who later became either noninvolved or highly involved in the activist protest. For the men, the relationships are not statistically significant in three of the scales (Complexity, Social Maturity and Religious Liberalism), although in all of those instances as well as in the three instances of statistical significance the relationships are in the expected direction. Thus, as in the findings in the Residential College analysis, we seem to have here an example of what Feldman and Newcomb have referred to as the "accentuation phenomenon" whereby the college experience seems to reinforce and accentuate the initial differences among entering freshmen. As we have indicated, the predispositional aspect of student activism has been very fully documented, so it is important to recognize that in addition to predispositions there has also apparently been a differential response to and impact of the college experience. We will discuss some of the predispositional issues much more fully in Chapter IV.

Academic Experiences

In their orientations to their academic experiences - the kinds of things they look for in their classes - student political activists are very similar to students who favor the Residential College. Like the latter students, the political activists have decided preferences for classes that are more open and unstructured, that provide contrasting points of view, that encourage student initiative and self-direction and autonomy (see Table III-17). Again, paralleling the findings for the students favoring the Residential College, it is interesting that differences are less striking on the two items in Table III-17 that phrase the issue of classroom autonomy must obviously in terms of student versus faculty "power" (i.e., whether class attendance should or should not be required and whether faculty should "regularly check up" on students assignments). For political activists, as for students who favor the Residential College, the issue distinguishing them from the rest of the students is more the desire for academic experiences that foster openness and student initiative, rather than of faculty "control" in the more narrow sense.

These preferences for certain types of classroom experiences are further reflected in the students' ranking of their areas of academic interest (see Table III-18). The more clearly defined and structured natural sciences are more preferred by the less politically involved students; the activists prefer the more loosely structured, open and ambiguous social sciences and humanities. Again, these findings parallel those obtained in the analysis of responses to the Residential College, except that the political activists tend to show preferences for social sciences as well as humanities. In the Residential College findings, it will be recalled, no differences were obtained between students favoring and not favoring the Residential College in their preferences for the social sciences. In addition to the fact that the social sciences are more elusive and less structured than the natural sciences, they also tend to represent some critique (or at least analysis) of society and hence appeal to political activists who are involved in a societal evaluation. What is perhaps surprising is that there is not an even stronger relationship between involvement in political activism and preference for the social sciences. It is also of interest to note that the relationship presented in Table III-18 is not monotonic, but rather reflects a sharp distinction between the highly involved activists and all other three groups of students. The interest in social sciences seems to be particularly relevant for the highly involved and committed activists.[6]

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[6] Another difference between the findings in the academic area in this and the preceding chapter is again that the relationships between activism and academic preferences and interests are just as strong for the women as for the men students. In the analysis of attitudes toward the Residential College, findings in the academic as in so many other areas, were much less striking for the women than for the men.

TABLE III-17

Relationship Between Student Activism and Desire for Classroom Structure and Faculty Control

Classroom Preferences (Mean Scores on seven point scales, 1=desire for structure and faculty control)	Males: No Involvement (N=85)	Males: Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Males: Attend One Meeting (N=60)	Males: High Involvement (N=75)	Females: No Involvement (N=80)	Females: Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Females: Attend One Meeting (N=59)	Females: High Involvement (N=47)
Essay tests - Objective tests	3.23	3.44	4.13	3.99	3.60	4.04	4.56	5.15
	F = 3.756, p = .05				F = 8.542, p = .001			
Attendance required - Not required	5.58	5.70	5.58	6.22	5.24	5.52	5.75	6.38
	F = 2.425, p = NS				F = 4.749, p = .01			
Professors "check up" - Do not "check up"	3.94	4.26	4.53	4.72	4.15	4.38	4.47	5.00
	F = 2.511, p = NS				F = 2.454, p = NS			
Clear point of view presented - Different approaches presented	4.39	4.54	4.62	5.24	4.20	4.62	4.86	5.83
	F = 2.967, p = .05				F = 7.927, p = .001			

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TABLE III-17 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Desire for Classroom Structure and Faculty Control

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Classroom Preferences (cont.)								
Requirements stressed - Student's independence stressed	2.19	2.30	2.77	3.76	2.19	2.25	2.68	3.70
	F = 13.235, p = .001				F = 8.796, p = .001			
Lectures - Discussions	4.13	4.63	4.80	5.08	3.78	3.88	4.37	4.68
	F = 3.639, p = .05				F = 3.016, p = .05			

TABLE III-18

Relationship Between Student Activism and Preferences for Academic Areas

Academic Areas Mean Ranking Given To: (5 Ranks, 1=high)	No Involvement	Vote in Referendum	Attend One Meeting	High Involvement	Significance Tests
Males	(N=82)	(N=56)	(N=59)	(N=72)	
Natural Sciences	2.42	2.48	2.63	3.08	F = 3.850, p = .01
Humanities	2.83	2.45	2.27	1.93	F = 8.304, p = .01
Social Sciences	2.22	2.32	2.19	1.85	F = 2.218, p = NS
Mathematics	3.48	3.59	3.61	4.15	F = 4.342, p = .01
Foreign Languages	4.05	4.16	4.32	3.99	F = 1.340, p = NS
Females	(N=78)	(N=82)	(N=57)	(N=47)	
Natural Sciences	3.21	3.29	3.44	3.83	F = 2.636, p = .05
Humanities	2.01	1.92	1.77	1.64	F = 1.694, p = NS
Social Sciences	2.41	2.11	2.49	1.87	F = 3.547, p = .05
Mathematics	4.17	4.11	4.14	4.51	F = 1.498, p = NS
Foreign Languages	3.21	3.55	3.14	3.13	F = 2.101, p = NS

When we turned from the students' preferences in the academic area to their actual reactions to what they experienced, we found a rather mixed picture in our analysis of students' attitudes toward the Residential College. There were few clear significant differences in reactions to their class experiences between students favoring and not favoring the Residential College. This seemed to represent the cancelling out of two contradictory tendencies. The students favoring the Residential College, being more involved in the academic-intellectual enterprise, showed more capacity to be excited by some of their academic experiences; but because of this greater involvement, they also showed a greater capacity to be disappointed by these experiences.

The picture with respect to the political activists is also not simple (see Table III-19). For women there do not appear to be any significant differences between activists and nonactivists in their reactions to their class experiences. Certainly it would appear from Table III-19 that activists show no unusual criticism of their academic experiences. For women, the only two items that show a clear statistically significant relationship with activism refer to the highly involved activists' capacity for self-initiated academic work (they more often felt courses stimulated discussion and extra work and they gave a higher significance to "individual study" in their rating of their most significant college experiences). For the women there were no clear differences between activists and nonactivists on questions aimed at evaluating (favorably or unfavorably) the classes they experienced at the university.

Table III-19 indicated that the men also present an ambiguous picture. In some instances it would appear that the highly involved activists are particularly critical of their academic experiences: they more often felt course standards at the university were low and unchallenging; they more often found courses dull and less often found them interesting; they listed "classroom work" as less important among their significant college experiences. However, in the last three findings (more often finding courses dull, less often finding them interesting, attaching less importance to "classroom work") the highly involved activists are joined in their criticism by the students with no activist involvement at all; both extreme groups are more critical than the two middle activist groups. Finally, adding to the ambiguous implications of the findings, on one measure the highly involved activists indicate that they had some unusually positive academic experiences - together with the next highest involved group, they more often indicate finding at least some courses that were unusually meaningful to them.

In summary, for both educational reformers and political protesters, the findings in the academic area seem clearer in suggesting what they are looking for in their academic experience, than in their reactions to what they feel they found at this particular multiversity. Both groups of protesters are interested in more open and unstructured classes that foster autonomy and self-direction and the student's arriving at his own integration of the material. But their protest does not seem to reflect unusual disappointment

TABLE III-19

Relationship Between Student Activism and Attitudes Towards Courses

Attitudes Toward Courses	Males: No Involvement (N=85)	Males: Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Males: Attend One Meeting (N=60)	Males: High Involvement (N=75)	Females: No Involvement (N=80)	Females: Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Females: Attend One Meeting (N=59)	Females: High Involvement (N=47)
Perception of Courses as Stimulating Discussion and Extra Work (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high)	4.07	4.46	4.78	4.57	3.43	3.51	4.19	4.23
	F = 2.502, p = NS				F = 3.796, p = .05			
Proportion who Felt "Several" Courses were "Unusually Meaningful"	33%	37%	51%	50%	42%	54%	48%	51%
	Chi^2 = 6.933, df = 3, p = .10				Chi^2 = 2.484, df = 3, p = NS			
Found Courses "Interesting" (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very often)	2.06	1.75	1.86	2.07	1.96	1.78	1.73	1.85
	F = 4.067, p = .01				F = 1.932, p = NS			
Found Courses "Dull" (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very often)	2.82	3.02	2.93	2.64	2.90	3.06	2.90	2.81
	F = 3.748, p = .05				F = 1.845, p = NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-19 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Attitudes Towards Courses

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Attitudes Toward Courses (cont.)								
Perception of Course Standards as Low and Not Challenging (Means on 7-point scale, 7=not challenging)	3.93	3.86	3.95	4.42	3.84	3.72	3.98	4.09
	F = 3.819, p = .05				F = 1.325, p = NS			
Significance of "Classroom Work" Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.41	2.02	2.17	2.47	2.23	2.13	2.12	2.06
	F = 4.380, p = .01				F = 0.567, p = NS			
Significance of "Individual Study" Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.98	2.81	2.72	2.54	3.01	2.88	2.75	2.28
	F = 2.272, p = NS				F = 4.690, p = .01			

at the extent to which their expectations were or were not met at the University. Perhaps the main finding, particularly for the educational reformers, is that they are more involved in the academic area, which leads to more criticism, but also to more intense positive reactions in those classes (admittedly not too numerous) that really engaged their interest.[7]

These reactions to academic issues and experiences are particularly relevant to our analysis of political activists because they bear on one of the critical purposes of the comparative analyses undertaken in this and the preceding chapter. The major purpose of our concern with the degree of overlap between political and educational critics derives from our interest in the long-range implications of political activism for educational reform and change within the university. The findings we have discussed suggest that there is a great deal of sympathy among political activists for the type of classroom reforms advocated by the educational critics. However, the data also suggest that this issue is of secondary importance to political activists. They are not unusually critical of their experiences in this area, certainly less critical than they are of other aspects of the university -- such as its internal power arrangements and its relationships with the broader society.

Relationships With Faculty

The relationships between political activism and reactions to faculty are presented in Tables III-20 and III-21. The findings in these tables present both similarities and differences when compared with the findings in the comparable two tables in Chapter II.

The major similarity is that student activists, like those favoring the Residential College, attach greater significance to faculty than do other students. This is evidenced in several of the findings in Table III-20: activists attach greater significance to "getting to know faculty" in rating their important college experiences; they feel that faculty have had a greater influence on them in helping them form their critical career decisions; wanting more from the faculty, they are more disappointed in feeling they had too little real contact with them. All of these findings apply as well to students who favor the Residential College (see Table II-18 in Chapter II).

The findings also replicate those of the preceding chapter in that the greater significance of faculty to the activists is not reflected in any differences in the extent or nature of their contact with faculty. As indicated in Table III-21, there are no consistent differences in the amount or type of contact that activists and non-activists experienced with

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[7] A further indication of the activists' academic involvement and intellectual commitment, as it is of the students who favor the Residential College, is the fact that, despite their criticisms, activists if anything do better academically. Among the men, the reported grade point averages of the four groups of students ranging from the non-involved to the highly involved are 2.80, 2.99, 2.85 and 3.09. The comparable figures for the women are 2.81, 3.01, 3.08 and 3.03. The difference among the men is significant at the .001 level.

TABLE III-20

Relationship Between Student Activism and Orientations Toward Faculty

	Males				
	No Involvement (N=98)	Vote in Referendum (N=115)	Attend One Meeting (N=166)	High Involvement (N=175)	Significance Tests
Desire for Personal Relationship with Faculty (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.02	2.18	1.92	1.95	F = 1.056, p = NS
Significance of "getting to know faculty..." Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	3.48	3.33	3.03	3.16	F = 3.266, p = .05
Faculty Influence on Career Choice (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	4.25	5.42	5.82	6.46	F = 6.172, p = .001
Bothered by Too Little Faculty Contact (Means on 4-point scale, 1=bothered "a great deal")	3.20	3.11	2.92	2.84	F = 2.961, p = .05
Perception of Extent of Faculty-Student Interaction (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high degree of satisfaction)	4.61	4.62	4.79	4.50	F = 0.496, p = NS

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-20 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Orientations Toward Faculty

	Males				
	No Involvement (N=98)	Vote in Referendum (N=115)	Attend One Meeting (N=166)	High Involvement (N=175)	Significance Tests
Perception of Faculty's Interest in Students (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high interest)	7.63	7.61	7.89	7.41	F = 0.867, p = NS
Perception of Faculty's Competence (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high competence)	7.07	7.58	7.44	6.96	F = 3.665, p = .05
	Females				
	(N=71)	(N=116)	(N=218)	(N=205)	
Desire for Personal Relationship with Faculty (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	2.04	1.98	1.88	1.77	F = 1.269, p = NS
Significance of "getting to know faculty..." Among College Experiences (Means on 5-point scale, 1=high)	3.35	3.26	2.90	2.68	F = 5.456, p = .01

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-20 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Orientations Toward Faculty

Females

	No Involvement (N=71)	Vote in Referendum (N=116)	Attend One Meeting (N=218)	High Involvement (N=205)	Significance Tests
Faculty Influence on Career Choice (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	4.74	5.15	5.67	5.43	F = 0.907, p = NS
Bothered by Too Little Faculty Contact (Means on 4-point scale, 1=bothered "a great deal")	3.21	3.07	3.03	2.72	F = 3.648, p = .05
Perception of Extent of Faculty-Student Interaction (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high degree of satisfaction)	4.79	5.01	5.27	4.75	F = 1.785, p = NS
Perception of Faculty's Interest in Students (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high interest)	7.84	8.02	8.14	8.02	F = 0.398, p = NS
Perception of Faculty's Competence (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high competence)	7.05	7.17	7.32	6.94	F = 1.153, p = NS

TABLE III-21

Relationship Between Student Activism and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)*	Vote in Referendum (N=55)*	Attend One Meeting (N=58)*	High Involvement (N=75)*	No Involvement (N=78)*	Vote in Referendum (N=82)*	Attend One Meeting (N=56)*	High Involvement (N=45)*
Faculty in Major								
Number Seen Outside of Class (Means on 6-point scale, 1= none, 6=5 or more)	2.77	2.79	3.00	2.66	2.83	2.88	2.85	2.94
	F = 0.537, p = NS				F = 0.051, p = NS			
Frequency of Contact (Means on 5-point scale, 1="once a day", 5="never")	3.68	3.65	3.53	3.25	3.94	3.68	3.53	3.57
	F = 2.234, p = NS				F = 2.074, p = NS			
Number Known in Informal Relationship (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.38	1.34	1.60	1.32	1.18	1.38	1.37	1.44
	F = 1.171, p = NS				F = 1.290, p = NS			
Contact in Social Settings (Means on 4-point scale, 1=no social contact)	1.43	1.30	1.57	1.70	1.42	1.70	1.67	1.81
	F = 3.076, p = .05				F = 1.926, p = NS			
Course-Related Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no course-related contact)	1.55	1.48	1.62	1.67	1.60	1.59	1.73	1.81
	F = 0.745, p=NS				F = 1.074, p = NS			

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TABLE III-21 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)*	Vote in Referendum (N=55)*	Attend One Meeting (N=58)*	High Involvement (N=75)*	No Referendum (N=78)*	Vote in Referendum (N=82)*	Attend One Meeting (N=56)*	High Involvement (N=45)*
Faculty in Major (cont.)								
Intellectual-Personal Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no intellectual-personal contact)	1.55	1.48	1.62	1.67	1.60	1.59	1.73	1.81
	F = 0.745, p = NS				F = 1.074, p = NS			
Faculty Not in Major								
Number Seen Outside of Class (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.94	2.21	2.39	2.01	2.10	2.10	1.97	2.07
	F = 1.614, p = NS				F = 0.133, p = NS			
Frequency of Contact (Means on 5-point scale, 1="once a day",5="never")	4.14	4.05	4.93	4.95	4.33	4.13	4.25	4.11
	F = 0.672, p = NS				F = 0.824, p = NS			
Number Known in Informal Relationship (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.24	1.33	1.32	1.27	1.17	1.12	1.19	1.37
	F = 0.165, p = NS				F = 1.830, p = NS			
Contact in Social Settings (Means on 4-point scale, 1=no social contact)	1.39	1.40	1.51	1.73	1.57	1.71	1.47	1.77
	F = 2.239, p = NS				F = 1.037, p = NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-21 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)*	Vote in Referendum (N=55)*	Attend One Meeting (N=58)*	High Involvement (N=75)*	No Involvement (N=78)*	Vote in Referendum (N=82)*	Attend One Meeting (N=56)*	High Involvement (N=45)*
Faculty Not in Major (cont.)								
Course-Related Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no course-related contact)	2.34	2.31	2.53	2.31	2.34	2.23	2.60	2.23
	F = 0.827, p = NS				F = 1.603, p = NS			
Intellectual-Personal Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no intellectual personal contact)	1.43	1.42	1.46	1.56	1.46	1.38	1.70	1.62
	F = 0.400, p = NS				F = 1.691, p = NS			
Teaching Fellows in Major								
Number Seen Outside of Class (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.95	1.97	2.19	2.11	1.81	1.56	1.59	1.89
	F = 0.407, p = NS				F = 1.083, p = NS			
Frequency of Contact (Means on 5-point scale, 1="once a day",5="never")	4.12	4.18	3.90	3.85	4.34	4.43	4.39	4.26
	F = 1.184, p = NS				F = 0.338, p = NS			
Number Known in Informal Relationship (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.17	1.27	1.17	1.39	1.14	1.10	1.14	1.20
	F = 1.288, p = NS				F = 0.473, p = NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-21 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)*	Vote in Referendum (N=55)*	Attend One Meeting (N=58)*	High Involvement (N=75)*	No Involvement (N=78)*	Vote in Referendum (N=82)*	Attend One Meeting (N=56)*	High Involvement (N=45)*
Teaching Fellows in Major (cont.)								
Contact in Social Settings (Means on 4-point scale, 1=no social contact)	1.40	1.50	1.51	2.03	1.69	1.67	1.71	1.78
	F = 4.949, p = .01				F = 0.065, p = NS			
Course-Related Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no course-related contact)	2.47	2.61	2.57	2.27	2.46	2.30	2.24	2.17
	F = 1.507, p = NS				F = 0.615, p = NS			
Intellectual-Personal Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no intellectual-personal contact)	1.28	1.39	1.46	1.65	1.50	1.33	1.57	1.50
	F = 2.401, p = NS				F = 0.634, p = NS			
Teaching Fellows Not in Major								
Number Seen Outside of Class (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.69	1.91	2.03	1.76	1.63	1.72	1.68	1.76
	F = 0.966, p = NS				F = 0.125, p = NS			
Frequency of Contact (Means on 5-point scale, 1="once a day",5="never")	4.31	4.16	4.20	4.21	4.60	4.35	4.36	4.36
	F = 0.260, p = NS				F = 1.235, p = NS			

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TABLE III-21 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Contact with Faculty

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)*	Vote in Referendum (N=55)*	Attend One Meeting (N=58)*	High Involvement (N=75)*	No Involvement (N=78)*	Vote in Referendum (N=82)*	Attend One Meeting (N=56)*	High Involvement (N=45)*
Teaching Fellows Not in Major (cont.)								
Number Known in Informal Relationship (Means on 6-point scale, 1=none, 6=5 or more)	1.20	1.23	1.38	1.29	1.08	1.21	1.09	1.41
	F = 0.676, p = NS				F = 3.290, p = .05			
Contact in Social Settings (Means on 4-point scale, 1=no social contact)	1.38	1.54	1.67	2.13	1.55	1.85	1.50	2.60
	F = 5.345, p = .01				F = 6.826, p = .001			
Course-Related Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no course-related contact)	2.27	2.29	2.22	2.13	2.50	2.03	2.32	1.87
	F = 0.215, p = NS				F = 2.244, p = NS			
Intellectual-Personal Contact (Means on 3-point scale, 1=no intellectual-personal contact)	1.29	1.46	1.37	1.63	1.14	1.47	1.55	1.60
	F = 1.673, p = NS				F = 2.086, p = NS			

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*N's are somewhat smaller for last 3 indices (Contact in Social Settings, Course-Related Contact, and Intellectual-Personal Contact) because indices were computed only for students who indicated they had some outside-of-class contact. Smallest N's are for the "Teaching Fellows Not in Major" responses where N's for men are 34, 28, 27, 32, and N's for women are 22, 34, 22, 15.

faculty.[8] What they differ in is the significance they attach, and the reactions they had, to the faculty contact that they did experience.

But with these similarities there also are some striking differences between political activists and educational critics in their attitudes toward faculty. Although the political activists share with the proponents of the Residential College the feeling that faculty relationships are significant, this feeling seems to be less personalized for the political activists. Political activists seem to have less need for a personal relationship with faculty. One of the most striking differences between students favoring and not favoring the Residential College occurred in response to the question asking them whether they wanted a "broader and more personal relationship with faculty." Students favoring the Residential College much more strongly indicated wanting such a relationship. This desire for a more personally meaningful relationship with faculty seems to be an important aspect of their preference for an educational environment like the Residential College which promises a much greater opportunity for such relationships. We see in Table III-20 that the political activists do not indicate any unusual desire for this kind of personalized relationship.

Political activists also differ from students favoring the Residential College in that they do not tend to generalize their greater involvement with faculty and disappointment with their own limited faculty contact, to an unusually negative perception of the university in this area. As indicated in Table III-20, there are no significant differences between politically involved and non-involved students in their general perceptions of the extent of faculty-student interaction at the university, or of the faculty's interest in students. While these general perceptions were also not strikingly related to attitudes toward the Residential College, the findings in the parallel table in the preceding chapter do indicate that there were some tendencies for students favoring the Residential College to express not only a personal disappointment in limited faculty contact, but to have a more generally negative perception of the university in this area, seeing faculty generally as somewhat less interested in the students.

To summarize, then, the political activists' relationships with faculty do not seem to be as emotionally charged as are those of the educational critics who favor the Residential College. For the activists, their involvement with faculty does not represent a need for a highly personalized relationship, and their feelings of disappointment at a somewhat limited contact with faculty is not translated into a major aspect of their general critique of the university.

On the other hand, there is also evidence that faculty are important to political activists, just as they are to students interested in educational change. While the faculty are not important in a deeply personal sense to the political activists, they are significant as models and as influencers. This is a significant point that is likely to be lost in some of the violent confrontations between activist students and faculty and administrative authority, and in the slogan that you can not trust anyone over thirty. Faculty are not only not irrelevant to politically acitivist students, but actually are potentially more meaningful to them than to most other students, and a source of potential impact and influence. These findings could have significant implications to the extent that possibilities for long-range effects of the activist protest, depend considerably on student-faculty collaborative effort.

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[8] With one exception, the only significant relationships that appear in Table III-21 occur on the index "contact in social settings." In several instances, with several different types of faculty, the highly involved activists indicate greater contact with faculty in non-academic settings within the University. These may well represent contact around common political involvements and activities.

Personal, Social and Extra-Curricular Relationships

In the area of peer and extra-curricular relationships, the findings on student political activists again present a mixed picture when compared with the findings on the attitudes toward the Residential College. Some clear differences appear when the data in Tables III-22, III-23, and III-24 are compared with the parallel tables in the preceding chapter. Perhaps the clearest difference is the lack of any evidence that the social inhibition associated with the desire for the Residential College is in any way related to political activism. It will be recalled that the students who favored the Residential College saw themselves as less socially outgoing and dated less than did the students who did not favor the Residential College. No such relationships appear in the comparisons of students more and less involved in political activism. (See Tables III-22 and III-23.) There is also no evidence that the personal friendships of the political activists tend to be unusually isolated from any broader group community within the university. Whereas students favoring the Residential College less often found their personal friendships embedded in a common membership in student organizations, this is not true of the friendships of the political activists (Table III-24). Political activists are, if anything, more involved in campus groups and extra-curricular activities, undoubtedly to some extent around their ideological interests, and their friendships tend to be integrated with these activities.

These differences between political activists and students favoring the Residential College are understandable, since the Residential College should have a special appeal to students somewhat socially isolated, who have had difficulty integrating themselves and their immediate friendships into a broader community within the multiversity. The picture in the friendship and peer group area is somewhat complicated, however, by the fact that on other questions in this area the political activists, like the students favoring the Residential College, do indicate unusual sensitivity and vulnerability in their friendship relationships. As indicated in Table III-22, political activists more often indicated that in their college experience they were bothered by "an inability to find individuals or groups who were really congenial and with whom I felt happy;" were also more often bothered by "a feeling of isolation or loneliness;" and more often indicated disappointment in friendship relationships ("a disappointment in a relationship with the

TABLE III-22

Relationship Between Student Activism and Friendship Orientations

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Significance of "establishing meaningful friendships" as a College Goal (Means on 3-point scale, 3=high)	2.27	2.37	2.52	2.47	2.50	2.67	2.70	2.64
	F = 2.427, p = NS				F = 1.910, p = NS			
Self-Concept as Socially Outgoing (Means on 37-point scale, 1=high)	12.99	13.26	11.44	13.24	11.93	12.62	10.58	11.22
	F = 1.340, p = NS				F = 1.366, p = NS			
Preference for Living Alone (Means on 4-point scale, 4=high)	1.81	1.63	1.77	1.86	1.70	1.65	1.63	2.04
	F = 0.761, p = NS				F = 2.088, p = NS			
Readiness to Talk with Friends About Problems (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high readiness)	8.22	8.91	9.67	9.93	10.78	10.90	11.38	11.07
	F = 4.939, p = .01				F = 0.787, p = NS			
Friends' Influence on Career Choice (Means on 13-point scale, 13=high)	3.23	3.66	4.91	4.81	3.42	3.80	4.43	3.38
	F = 6.863, p = .001				F = 1.978, p = NS			

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TABLE III-22 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Friendship Orientations

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Significance of Friendships Among College Experiences (Means on 9-point scale, 9=high)	6.24	6.82	7.02	6.51	7.20	7.94	7.57	7.59
	F = 1.976, p = NS				F = 2.580, p = NS			
Bothered by Inability to Find Congenial Individuals or Groups in College (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	3.46	3.37	3.48	3.13	3.52	3.31	3.51	2.98
	F = 2.286, p = NS				F = 4.060, p = .01			
Bothered by Loneliness in College (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	2.91	2.88	3.10	2.70	2.84	2.52	2.70	2.34
	F = 1.922, p = NS				F = 3.126, p = .05			
Disappointed in Relationship(s) in College (Means on 10-point scale, 10=high disappointment)	3.17	3.53	3.45	4.28	4.40	4.51	5.19	5.72
	F = 3.564, p = .05				F = 3.765, p = .05			

TABLE III-23

Relationship Between Student Activism and Dating

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Frequency of Dating (Means on 6-point scale, 6=high)	3.60	3.75	3.84	3.69	3.89	4.08	4.37	4.26
	F = 0.240, p = NS				F = 1.244, p = NS			
Satisfaction with Dating and Social Life in College (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very satisfied)	2.24	2.07	1.86	2.22	2.03	2.11	1.86	1.96
	F = 2.287, p = NS				F = 0.994, p = NS			

TABLE III-24

Relationship Between Student Activism and Extracurricular Involvements

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement	Vote in Referendum	Attend One Meeting	High Involvement	No Involvement	Vote in Referendum	Attend One Meeting	High Involvement
Extracurricular Activity (Means on 4-point scale, 4=high)	1.65 (N=85)	1.64 (N=56)	1.90 (N=60)	2.16 (N=75)	1.30 (N=80)	1.54 (N=84)	1.45 (N=58)	1.70 (N=46)
	F = 4.260, p = .01				F = 2.708, p = .05			
Number of Campus Group Memberships (Means on 7-point scale, 7=7 or more)	2.13 (N=76)	2.49 (N=53)	2.43 (N=56)	2.82 (N=73)	2.27 (N=70)	3.01 (N=80)	2.96 (N=55)	3.39 (N=41)
	F = 1.983, p = NS				F = 3.813, p = .05			
Proportion Who Feel First Group Was Very Important	58% (N=60)	59% (N=46)	63% (N=46)	52% (N=63)	52% (N=50)	62% (N=66)	48% (N=42)	67% (N=30)
	Chi^2 = 1.297, df = 3, p = NS				Chi^2 = 3.866, df = 3, p = NS			
Proportion Who Feel Second Group Was Very Important	27% (N=34)	41% (N=32)	36% (N=28)	25% (N=44)	22% (N=27)	32% (N=38)	19% (N=21)	35% (N=17)
	Chi^2 = 2.734, df = 3, p = NS				Chi^2 = 1.974, df = 3, p = NS			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-24 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Extracurricular Involvements

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement	Vote in Referendum	Attend One Meeting	High Involvement	No Involvement	Vote in Referendum	Attend One Meeting	High Involvement
Number Among Five Best Friends Who Are Members of First Group (Means)	2.18 (N=56)	1.84 (N=45)	2.13 (N=45)	1.79 (N=61)	1.40 (N=47)	2.17 (N=65)	1.55 (N=40)	1.35 (N=29)
	F = 0.846, p = NS				F = 3.206, p = .05			
Number Among Five Best Friends Who Are Members of Second Group (Means)	1.06 (N=33)	0.91 (N=33)	0.93 (N=27)	1.05 (N=42)	0.65 (N=26)	1.08 (N=39)	0.24 (N=21)	0.65 (N=17)
	F = 0.122, p = NS				F = 3.116, p = .05			

opposite sex -- a hurt, rejection, loss" and "a disillusionment about friendship or a friend.") While problems of finding congenial groups and even problems of loneliness might stem from ideological rather than emotional concerns -- that is from their feeling of being ideologically deviant and isolated -- the questions on disappointments in relationships seem to tap a more clearly emotional area, and an unusual sensitivity and vulnerability in relationships. The findings may reflect, like the previously noted findings on impulse expression (see Table III-13 above), a generally greater affectivity among political activists, and not necessarily that personal and friendship relationships are a particularly problematic area for them. At least political activism does not seem to represent the overt expression of unusual problems in friendship relationships to the extent that interest in the type of environment promised by the Residential College seems to represent such an expression.[9]

Impersonality and Student Control

In the preceding chapter attitudes toward the Residential College were related to two issues that symbolized much of the criticism of the university, particularly the multiversity -- the issues of impersonality and student control. The findings indicated that there was some concern over both issues among students favoring the Residential College. These students more often expressed some personal experiences of "feeling lost" in the impersonal university (although students favoring and not favoring the Residential College were not as strikingly different as one might have expected in their general perceptions of the university on this issue). Also, among the men students favoring the Residential College, there was somewhat greater feeling that the issue of student control was an important one and that students should have greater control within the University than they have at the present time (though again there was little difference in the perception of the conditions at the university relevant to this issue -- that is, students favoring and not favoring the Residential College were similar in their perceptions of how much control students actually have, differing only in their feelings about the significance of the issue and what they felt should be done about it).

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[9] One other difference between political activists and students favoring the Residential College might be noted in the friendship area. In general, students differing in activism like those differing in attitudes to the Residential College, do not differ in the significance they give to friendship generally and to the significance of the friendships they have formed in their lives at the university (Table III-22). However, one difference did appear. Among men, political activists indicated much more readiness to turn to friends with problems and to be influenced by them. This is understandable given the fact that activism is a youth movement relying on a great deal of mutual identification as youth and students, in confrontation with the institutions of an older generation. It should be recalled, however, that this greater readiness to be influenced by students does not preclude a greater readiness to also be influenced by other figures, since it will be recalled that activists also indicated more readiness to be influenced by faculty members, at least in the critical area of vocation and career.

TABLE III-25

Relationship Between Student Activism and Perception of University's Concern with Individuality

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Perception that University Treats Students as Individuals (Means on 10-point scale, 10=treatment as individuals	4.68	4.36	5.19	4.16	4.76	4.61	4.85	4.47
	F = 4.568, p = .01				F = 0.567, p = NS			
Perception that University Fosters Individual Development (Means on 13-point scale, 13=individual development fostered)	8.49	8.30	8.52	7.96	8.53	8.82	8.47	8.27
	F = 1.346, p = NS				F = 0.862, p = NS			
Perception that University Encourages Intellectual Risk and Nonconformity (Means on 10-point scale, 10=non conformity encouraged)	6.61	6.93	6.76	6.24	6.82	6.96	6.83	6.53
	F = 3.321, p = .05				F = 1.207, p = NS			
Bothered by "Feeling Lost" at Impersonal University (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	4.12	3.93	4.00	3.83	3.95	4.11	3.98	3.98
	F = 1.529, p = NS				F = 0.455, p = NS			

TABLE III-26

Relationship Between Student Activism and Attitudes Toward Student Control

Attitudes Toward Student Control	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Importance of Issue of Student Control (Means on 4-point scale, 1=very important)	3.00	2.54	2.36	1.87	2.75	2.52	2.33	1.77
	F = 20.398, p = .001				F = 15.233, p = .001			
Perception of Extent of Student Control Within University (Means on 4-point scale, 1="a great deal")	2.93	2.89	2.86	3.12	2.73	2.76	2.78	3.02
	F = 2.795, p = .05				F = 2.881, p = .05			
Perception of Student's Participatory Role in Decisions (Means on 7-point scale, 7=high participation)	3.12	3.07	3.36	2.48	3.57	3.48	3.60	2.68
	F = 6.941, p = .001				F = 6.506, p = .001			

(continued on next page)

TABLE III-26 (cont'd)

Relationship Between Student Activism and Attitudes Toward Student Control

	Males				Females			
	No Involvement (N=85)	Vote in Referendum (N=57)	Attend One Meeting (N=60)	High Involvement (N=75)	No Involvement (N=80)	Vote in Referendum (N=83)	Attend One Meeting (N=59)	High Involvement (N=47)
Attitudes Toward Student Control (cont.)								
Perception of University as Paternalistic and Restrictive (Means on 16-point scale, 1= university paternalistic)	11.03	11.19	11.41	8.77	11.58	11.35	11.00	8.75
	F = 18.560, p = .001				F = 17.452, p = .001			
Desire for Greater Student Control (Means on 6-point scale, 6=desire greater control)	3.56	3.76	3.85	4.83	3.57	3.90	4.07	4.85
	F = 24.136, p = .001				F = 19.258, p = .001			

Turning to the political activist, instead of a moderate degree of involvement on both issues we find in Tables III-25 and III-26 a sharp differentiation between them. Political activists do not show any unusual sensitivity to the issue of impersonality in the multiversity -- either in their own experience, or in the criticism that the university does not treat students as individuals, and neglects students' individual development and growth. Only two of the relationships presented in Table III-25 are statistically significant, and these are curvilinear in nature. Again, as we saw in the findings on friendship relationships, and in the lack of any special interest in personal relationships with faculty, the focus on more intimate and personal relationships within the university community that is so crucial to the students interested in the Residential College, has no special relevance for the political activists.

A very different picture appears, as expected, in the findings on the issue of student power and control. Here, all the relationships presented in Table III-26 are clear and striking. Activists not only feel the issue is more important and that students should have more control within the university. They have strikingly different perceptions of what the situation is; they see students as having much less power and participation in decisions, and see the university as much more paternalistic and restrictive than do the less politically active students.

These findings are not surprising since the issue of student power and control is a basic aspect of the student activist protest, just as the issue of impersonality is central to educational critics of the multiversity who are advocating reforms like the Residential College. What is interesting is that the educational critics, in order to institute reforms, do get somewhat concerned with the issues of power and control that are central to the activists. In addition, these issues are clearly related to the concern with the student's individuality and growth that are the central involvements of the educational reformers. The political activists, however, do not necessarily become concerned with the issues of impersonality and individual development and growth. At least in this sample of students at this multiversity, political protest has remained more narrowly focused than has the educational criticism. To the extent that this is generally true, it may help explain why the political activist movement of the sixties has so far had limited implications for basic education innovation and reform.

Summary

There is some positive relationship between involvement in student activism and the educational criticism of the multiversity that is reflected in a preference for the Residential College. But the relationship is not a striking one. This is reflected in the comparative analysis of factors related to the two forms of criticism. While there are some factors related to both, others sharply differentiate the educational and political critics.

We may summarize these similarities and differences by referring back to our summary of the preceding chapter where we noted that a preference for the Residential College was fostered by both intellectual and personal-developmental concerns. Political activism is similar to the educational criticism in that it is an expression of the most intellectually involved, committed and responsive students. But the personal and developmental issues that are also central to the educational critics, particularly issues around the impersonality of relationships available in a multiversity, seem to be largely irrelevant to the political activists.

The intellectual involvement of the student activists manifests itself in the same set of relationships that we noted in the analysis of the preceding chapter. Activists have more general intellectual and cultural interests. Their goals for college are more often defined in terms of intellectual excitement and exploration, rather than a narrow vocationalism. They prefer classes that foster student self-direction and initiative. Faculty have been more important and influential in their lives in college. They have been more open and responsive to the educational experience, changing more in their intellectual interests during the four years in college.

But, with a few exceptions, none of the relationships reflecting the more personal theme in the appeal of a Residential College were replicated in this analysis of student activists. The activists give no evidence that they have had greater problems in handling the interpersonal and social aspects of their lives at the University. While involved in a very general sense in identity issues, they do not manifest the self-questioning and uncertainty about some of their basic values and life directions that was expressed by students favoring the Residential College. While involved with faculty their involvement is not unusually personal; they do not have the special interest in more personal relationships with faculty that seems to be a major component of the educational critic's dissatisfaction with the multiversity. Perhaps most important, they are not more critical than the nonactivists of the impersonality of the multiversity. They do not, in short, focus on issues that have been seen as particular problems in the multiversity. Their criticism is more one of institutions of higher education generally, and the role they play in society. They do not seem to be particularly tuned in to the argument of most educational critics of our colleges and universities, that they are not enough concerned with a student's personal as well as intellectual development.

We have made some brief comments during the course of these two chapters on the implications these differences might have for the long-range impact of the student protest of the 1960's, particularly the questions they raise about the potential impact of political activism on reform of the educational environment in the university. We will consider implications more fully in the final chapter of this report.

CHAPTER IV

Some Further Explorations of Student Activism[1]

This chapter presents some further more intensive analyses of factors related to student activism. It differs from the analysis of Chapter III, in that it focuses on the smaller numbers of radicals and committed activists. Also, one of the analyses in this chapter is concerned with the predispositions to radical committment, and will therefore present relationships with the entering freshman data. For these reasons, while most of the findings to be discussed in this chapter are consistent with those of Chapter III, some differences also will be noted.

One caution should be noted at the outset. Given the small number of cases involved, and the exploratory nature of the analyses presented in this chapter, the findings and discussions that follow are to be viewed as suggestive rather than definitive.[2]

Previous studies have compared activists with nonactivists or random samples of the same student body (Flacks, 1967; Heist, 1965; Watts and Whittaker, 1966; Keniston, 1968) and have discovered that activists differ greatly from nonactivists in background, family structure, attitudes and personality characteristics. Other studies have looked at the characteristics of students with different attitudes toward activists, from sympathetic to critical (Heist, 1966; Somers, 1965), or with radical versus conservative group memberships (Schiff, 1964; Westby and Braungart, 1966).

In this chapter, we are interested in questions that are somewhat different in focus. We will present two separate analyses. First, instead of just comparing activists with a heterogeneous group of "nonactivist" students, as most other studies have done, we are interested in looking at differences among students who engage in different types of activity. In this chapter we will present a comparison of three groups of students: (1) students who joined a "New Left" radical group on the campus, (2) students who joined a group with a moderate-left orientation, and (3) students who did not become involved in any political group during their college years. In these comparisons we will focus on two questions: (a) how did these three groups of students differ at the time they entered college, and (b) are there any ways in which male and female students show different kinds of predispositions to political involvement? Although many other studies have examined predispositions, very few have been able to measure predispositions at a time prior to the student's political involvement. We are fortunate in being able to follow students from the point of entering college, relating their entrance characteristics to membership in political groups three years later in their college careers. Four possible predisposing factors will be examined: the student's political attitudes, broader value orientations, self-evaluation of personality characteristics, and relationship with parents.

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[1] The first set of analyses presented in this chapter, and much of the discussion of their findings, are taken from a senior honors dissertation of Steve Zant (1967).

[2] For this reason, statistical significance will not be presented for the tables in this chapter.

Secondly, we want to compare students who share the same attitudes toward issues which led to the student protest we described in Chapter III but who differ in levels and types of activity. If we really want to understand the correlates and conditions for activity, it is extremely important to separate the effects of different attitudes on the relevant issues. Naturally, people who do not feel strongly about the issues or who are not dissatisfied will be less likely to engage in protest activities. But, given similar attitudes, why do some people become active while some do not? We know of no other study which has examined the predictors of action, controlling for predisposing political attitudes. Our analysis will focus on 151 students from our random sample of seniors who expressed strong anti-administration attitudes along with high interest in the student power issue. Our objective is to see whether the values, personality characteristics, familial experiences, and social background factors that distinguish between radicals, moderates, and nonpolitical students in our first analysis will also distinguish between students who shared the same attitudes about student power but differed in how actively they engaged in protest themselves.

Involvement in "New Left" and "Moderate-Left" Political Groups

The Groups

Before proceeding to the results of our first analysis, a description of the groups we selected to study may be helpful. The moderate student group had a nominal affiliation with a major political party but represented the left-wing of the party, breaking with the party over foreign policy. This group was not active as a party in campus politics, although individual members played influential roles in campus politics. During the 1966 campus protest this group played a leading role in a wide student coalition. Apart from this one campus issue, the moderate group was primarily involved in influencing city politics, by registering local citizens to vote and through canvassing activities connected with the local congressional election. In sum, members of this group are concerned most with national and local politics instead of campus issues, and with working for social change through established party politics rather than through third parties or direct action.

The radical student group was also affiliated with a national group, a loosely-organized student radical organization. Local campus-based radical groups receive little or no central direction from the national organization and can -- indeed they generally do -- vary greatly from campus to campus. This group was concerned with three areas of activity: the economic problems of the student at the University of Michigan, opposition to the Viet Nam war, and radical education. Members of this group backed a peace candidate in the local elections but were generally more involved in protest than in electoral politics. In the 1966 campus protest, members from this group spoke for the most militant forms of direct action. This group is not so far from the moderate group in political attitude, but it is considerably different in the tactics its members espouse. It favors more immediate, uncompromised forms of action, eschewing more traditional channels of change.

The Samples

In the fall of 1966, questionnaires were administered to students in four political groups as part of the study of student organizations that is described in Chapter VI. The moderate group and the radical "left" group were included among the four. Those students within the two groups who had entered college in either 1962 or 1963 and, therefore, took part in the initial wave of data collection as freshmen, were included in our analysis of predictors of political involvement. This provided 33 members of the moderate group and 38 members of the radical group. The "control" group is made up of all the remaining 1962 and 1963 entrants in our sample who were still in school in 1966 and who did not belong to these two "left" political groups (a total of 745 students).

Political Interests, Style and Attitudes

In comparison with nonactivists, both groups of activists entered college with a stronger interest in politics. Moreover, the two groups of activists can also be differentiated from each other by the political style preferences they held as entering freshmen.

Questions about political interest show a consistent pattern (see Table IV-1A).[3] Moderates and radicals report almost the same level of interest. Both groups of activists have higher interest scores than the "controls" on both questions about political interest. To put the activists' level of interest in some perspective, it should be remembered that they are being compared with a group who will probably graduate from college, the group in American society which generally shows the highest level of political interest. That the activists entered college with even stronger political interests than this typically high-interest group highlights their prior socialization to political involvement.

Another question shows that the male activists are somewhat more favorable than the nonactivists about "students showing increased interest in political action" (see Table IV-1B). The difference, however, is small. More important, the response to this question indicates a fairly broad support of increased student political activity with over 70 percent of the moderates, radicals and control students approving or strongly approving of increased political activity among students. Thus, while the students who subsequently became activists are characterized by a higher level of political interest when they entered college, they could count on the approval, and sometimes, as later events would prove, the cooperation of their fellow students who also favored student political activity.

Despite their high level of political interest, most students who later became activists did not anticipate participating in campus political groups. When asked, as freshmen, what extracurricular activities they were thinking of joining, only 20 to 30 percent of the students who subsequently became activists mentioned a political activity. This means that their prior socialization seems to have predisposed them to political interests and

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[3] Although the findings in this first analysis come from the questionnaires given to the entering freshmen, most of the questions were repeated in the senior questionnaire presented in Appendix B. The question references in the tables are to the senior questionnaire.

TABLE IV-I

Political Interests, Style and Attitudes

	Radicals		Moderates		Random	
A. Political Interest	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Proportion who have a "great deal" of interest in national and world affairs (Part I, Q.135)	76%	54%	71%	50%	37%	18%
	(25)*	(13)	(17)	(16)	(349)	(396)
Proportion who feel "more informed than most" in national and world affairs (Part I, Q.136)	79%	54%	71%	50%	45%	15%
	(24)	(13)	(17)	(18)	(349)	(396)
B. Attitudes Toward "Increased Student Interest in Political Action" Part I, Q.134)						
Strongly approve	62%	54%	71%	56%	35%	38%
Approve	24%	23%	29%	22%	44%	41%
	(25)	(13)	(17)	(18)	(349)	(396)
C. Attitudes Toward "Negro Student Sit-ins"						
Strongly approve	76%	54%	35%	56%	19%	17%
Approve	20%	46%	41%	39%	35%	37%
	(25)	(13)	(17)	(18)	(349)	(396)
D. Political Style						
Proportion who feel that "participation as a citizen in the affairs of my community" will be "very" or "crucially important" in their life (Part I, Q.57)	43%	23%	70%	63%	42%	37%
	(26)	(13)	(17)	(19)	(349)	(396)
Proportion who feel that "Involvement in activities directed toward national or international betterment" will be "very" or "crucially" important (Part I, Q.57)	77%	53%	59%	67%	30%	28%
	(26)	(13)	(17)	(18)	(349)	(396)
E. Conservatism-Liberalism (Means on five-point scales, 1 = conservative)						
Domestic	4.13	3.88	3.97	3.73	2.89	3.13
	(25)	(13)	(17)	(18)	(349)	(396)

TABLE IV-I (Cont)

Political Interests, Style and Attitudes

	Radicals		Moderates		Random	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Civil Liberties	4.31 (25)	3.88 (13)	3.78 (17)	3.72 (18)	3.24 (349)	3.14 (396)
Foreign Affairs	3.68 (25)	3.63 (13)	3.29 (17)	3.26 (18)	2.87 (349)	2.88 (396)

*The numbers in parentheses in this and the following tables refer to the N's in the groups.

concerns but not necessarily to firm activity commitments.

Stylistic differences between the radicals and moderates are reflected in their freshman attitudes about Negro student sit-ins. At the time these students were freshmen, the most publicized student political movement in the country was the southern Negro student movement. While a majority of the nonactivist students also approved of sit-ins, activists are more strongly in favor than the control group, with the male radicals being particularly favorable (Table IV-1C). The difference between the male radicals and male moderates on this question is surprising, with the male moderates showing somewhat less favorable attitudes than the female moderates although still higher than the nonactivists. These responses indicate that while the activists in general do not anticipate actual participation in political groups, they are more positive than the control group about certain student styles of participation. Moreover, the radicals, and also the female moderates, came to college with very favorable attitudes about the style of politics that would eventually characterize the student movement.

Two other questions also point to the subsequent differences in political style between radicals and moderates (see Table IV-1D). Moderates rate as more important than either radicals or the control group the ideas of "participating as a citizen in the affairs of my community" after graduating from college. And, contrary to other questions on political interest, here is a question on which radicals and the control group do not differ. On the other hand, in rating the importance of "involvement in activities directed toward national or international betterment," radicals and moderates do not differ from each other and are both high compared with the controls.

Together these questions seem to suggest that there were stylistic differences between radicals and moderates before they joined groups which differed in political style. Just as the radicals were more oriented toward sit-ins, they were oriented away from the more traditional kinds of community participation. The reverse pattern characterized the moderates as entering freshmen. The actual activities of the moderate group have to do primarily with community politics and working for the election of local politicians. In contrast, the activities of the radical group are primarily directed toward ideology and education, on the one hand, and toward direct action, on the other. Their approach is at once both more abstract and more direct, which perhaps could have been anticipated by the attitudes the members held even before their radical involvement.

When they entered college, radicals and moderates differed not only in their preferences for political style but also in their political attitudes. Scores on a liberal-conservative dimension were given to two questions about domestic issues, four about civil liberties and two about foreign policy (see Table IV-1E). The two domestic questions concerned attitudes toward medicare and labor unions. The four civil liberties questions asked whether Communists should be allowed to teach in a college or university, whether a committee should investigate faculty political beliefs, whether the government should refuse a passport to a socialist, and whether the student approved or disapproved of Congressional investigations of "Un-American Activities." The two foreign policy questions focused on attitudes about the test ban treaty and U.S. relations with Castro's government in Cuba. An index summing across the questions in each of these three areas ranges from one to five, with liberal responses represented by higher scores.

The relationship between these measures of liberal-conservative attitudes and subsequent political involvement is clear and consistent, with the male radicals taking the most "liberal" stand on all three types of issues, followed by the moderates and then by the random sample. It is, however, particularly the male radicals who stand out. The female radicals looked much like moderates when they entered college. The one question on which the female radicals do stand apart from moderates has to do with military action in foreign policy. Given this sensitivity to military action while being less liberal than the male radicals about domestic and civil liberties issues, it is possible that the growing American involvement in Viet Nam was an especially crucial factor in activating the females for radical politics. The male radicals appear to have been predisposed to radical involvement by their attitudes on a wider range of issues, while the female radicals must have undergone more political socialization after coming to college for their radical perspective to be extended byond foreign policy questions.

In summary, these data indicate that while moderates and radicals have high levels of political interest before becoming active in political groups, they differ in their preferences for style of activism and in positions they take on domestic, civil liberties and foreign policy issues. Even as entering freshmen, these students seem to be two different groups politically. Radical-moderate differences regarding specific political questions are less marked, however, among females than among males. These data support generalizations from earlier studies of political socialization that basic political attitudes are formed before the college years. As entering freshmen, radicals, moderates and nonactivists showed very different political orientations.

Value Orientations

Many investigators of activism have noted certain value themes as characteristic of the student movement. As Flacks (1967) puts it, these themes are:

> Romanticism: There is a strong stress among many movement participants on quest for self-expression, often articulated in terms of leading a "free" life - i.e., not bound by conventional restraints on feeling, experience, communication, expression. This is often coupled with aesthetic interest and a strong rejection of scientific and other highly rational pursuits . . . .
>
> Anti-authoritarianism: A strong antipathy toward arbitrary rule, centralized decision making, "manipulation". . . .
>
> Egalitarianism, populism: A belief that all men are capable of political participation, that political power should be widely dispersed, that the locus of value in society lies with the people and not elites . . . .

> Anti-dogmatism: A strong reaction against doctrinarie ideological interpretations of events. Many of the students are quite restless when presented with formulated models of the social order and specific programs for social change . . . .
>
> Moral purity: A strong antipathy to self-interested behavior, particularly when overlaid by claims of disinterestedness. A major criticism of the society is that it is "hypocritical" . . . and that the older generation has "sold out" . . . .
>
> Community: A strong emphasis on a desire for "human" relationships, for a full expression of emotions, for the breaking down of interpersonal barriers and the refusal to accept conventional norms concerning interpersonal contact (e.g., norms respecting sex, status, race, age, etc.) . . . .
>
> Anti-institutionalism: A strong distrust of involvement with conventional institutional roles . . . expressed in the almost universal desire among the highly involved to avoid institutionalized careers . . . . Few student activists look toward careers in the professions, the sciences, industry, or politics. Many . . . expect to work full time in the "movement" or, alternatively, to become free-lance writers, artists, intellectuals. A high proportion are oriented toward academic careers . . . .(Flacks, p. 58).

Following previous studies, we also expected radicals to be less inclined than either the moderates or nonactivists to use their college experience to prepare for a career and instead to be concerned with "self-fulfilling" pursuits. Several questions on the entrance questionnaire help us define these value-predispositions.

Students were asked to rate the importance of career goals as well as questions about specific career choices. They were also asked about the relative importance of other interests. No differences between the two groups of activists or between activists and the control group appear when respondents were asked to indicate the importance to them of "developing a deep, perhaps professional grasp of a specific field of study in college." However, when they rated the importance of "thinking through what kind of occupation and career I want," a striking difference appears. Only 58 percent of the male radicals, compared to over 80 percent of every other group, including the female radicals, rated this career goal as having high importance (see Table IV-2A). We see this difference again when respondents were asked to rate how important career and occupation would probably be in their lives after college. Male radicals expected career and occupation to be much less important than did the other males.

Together these responses show that the male radicals, while oriented toward academic pursuits ("a specific field of study"), are not as strongly career-oriented as other students. Most other studies have indicated that radicals value academic and scholarly activities very much and also perform in college unusually well. But they do not value using college as a place

TABLE IV-2

Value Orientations

	Radicals		Moderates		Random	
A. Occupational Values	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Proportion who attach "great importance" to "thinking through . . . occupation and career . . ." as a college goal (Part I, Q.47)	58% (26)	85% (13)	82% (17)	84% (19)	89% (349)	80% (396)
Proportion who feel that "career or occupation" will be "crucially important" in their life (Part I, Q.57)	27% (26)	8% (12)	59% (17)	6% (18)	40% (349)	9% (396)
Proportion who would rather be "famous for my work" (Part I, Q.108)	20% (25)	0% (12)	41% (17)	11% (18)	27% (349)	15% (396)
B. Intellectual and Creativity Values						
Proportion who feel that "the world of ideas, the intellectual life" will be "crucially important" in their life (Part I, Q.57)	36% (26)	50% (12)	35% (17)	16% (19)	15% (349)	17% (396)
Proportion who would rather be "a creative person, richly gifted . . ." (Part I, Q.108)	40% (25)	67% (12)	41% (17)	50% (18)	24% (349)	37% (396)
C. Romanticism						
Self-rating on Practical (1) - Dreamer (7) (Mean scores) (Part I, Q.105)	3.73 (26)	3.85 (13)	2.82 (17)	3.11 (19)	3.12 (349)	3.01 (396)

for career preparation. Further evidence on this point comes from the types of majors the radicals, moderates and nonactivist males were considering as freshmen. The male moderates were more disposed than the radicals to the professions. They mentioned preprofessional programs as their anticipated academic majors 41 percent of the time, as compared to 21 percent for the male radicals. Moreover, 50 percent of the male moderates but only 26 percent of the radicals mentioned professions as their eventual career choices. In contrast, the male radicals seem more interested in intellectual activities for their own sake. Although the difference is not sizable, more radicals (24 percent) than moderates (9 percent) gave pure science and mathematics as their academic majors. And, 20 percent of the male radicals, compared to 5 percent of the moderates, were considering "intellectual" careers in these fields. The difference considering "intellectual" careers in humanities and social sciences is about the same, 20 percent of the radicals but 5 percent of the moderates. A response was scored as "intellectual" when a career in college teaching or advanced work in an academic subject was indicated. If these two "intellectual" categories are combined, the male radicals show a much stronger academic and intellectual orientation. While one out of every two male moderates is considering a professional career, almost one out of two male radicals is considering a career in academics.

In previous studies, radicals have been shown to come from families where the parents are in professional occupations. In this study, as well, more male radicals have fathers who hold some advanced or professional degree. Almost one out of every two radicals has a father with an advanced degree. Equally interesting is the large number of mothers of male radicals who have advanced degrees (23%, compared to none for the moderates). On the other hand, the parents of the male moderates, in comparison to all other groups, have the lowest mean educational level, and fewer of their fathers (19 percent) hold advanced or professional degrees.

This difference between the parents of radical and moderate males does not hold among the females, however. The parents of female moderates are as well educated as those of radicals. These three groups -- male radicals, female radicals, and female moderates -- all come from families with higher professional status and greater education, and particularly from families where the mothers are better educated.

Although male radicals come from predominantly professional homes, with both parents highly educated, they seem to move away from the professions in their own occupational choices. Flacks has suggested that this kind of family may stress personal expression rather than achievement or material advancement. On the other hand, if male moderates are able to carry out their occupational objectives, they will be upwardly mobile, achieving considerably more occupational status than their parents. Another study at Harvard College has suggested that individuals in another moderate group were using their group affiliation instrumentally to further a planned career in the professions (Schneider, unpublished). This may be true also for our group of male moderates at the University of Michigan.

The female radicals do not differ from moderates or the control group with respect to any of these occupational questions, but on the question asking them to rate the importance of "thinking through what kind of occupation and career I want...," they are more concerned than the male radicals. This may have something to do with sex differences in the meaning of a career. For a young man, a career may mean a secure position in the upper-middle class rather than providing a way to achieve self-expression. For a female, however, a career may be a very important form of self-expression, running counter to societal expectations of the woman's role. Therefore, female radicals may be less traditional than other girls in the way they think about career (even though the importance of the career decision is stressed equally by all three groups of women). In fact, the way they think about career may be a way of expressing noninstitutional values. Responses to two other questions suggest that this may be true. Female radicals seem to be much more involved in intellectual pursuit and somewhat more involved in creative activity (see Table IV-2B). This perhaps helps explain the fact that male radicals stand apart from moderates by placing less emphasis on career per se, while female radicals stand apart from moderates not in their degree of commitment but in the type of values they want to pursue in their lives as a whole. For a woman, intellectual commitments can be expressed through a career or through other non-familial activities. But for a male with highly intellectual commitments, deviation from the conventional expectations occurs precisely away from the occupational arena: the problem then becomes one of finding work that allows the expression of intellectual and personal values.

These questions about intellectual and creative work also reflect again the difference between the male radicals and moderates' orientations toward work. In responding to a question, "If you let yourself go and really dream, which of the following (seven possible outcomes) would you rather be?", 41 percent of the male moderates but only 20 percent of the male radicals would like to be famous for their work (see Table IV-2A).

The romanticism Flacks comments upon is expressed when respondents were asked to rate themselves on a continuum with "practical" at one pole and "a dreamer" at the other (see Table IV-2C). Both the male and female radicals rate themselves more toward the dreamer end than do other students. This also seems to follow the stress radicals place upon intellectual and creative activity. In contrast, the male moderates' strong orientation toward career and their more pragmatic political ideology seems also reflected in thinking of themselves as more practical people.

In summary, the values students expressed as entering freshmen support the expected differences between radicals and moderates regarding intellectual commitments, romanticism, and involvement in noninstitutional roles. Among males, we see this difference primarily in the way moderates and radicals express intellectual values. The moderates are more likely to use their intellectual interests and abilities in pursuing a career while the radicals appear to be pursuing intellectuality and creativity for their own sake. Among females, both the radicals and moderates stress the importance of career but radical girls place much greater emphasis on intellectuality.

Self-Evaluations as Freshmen

A number of entrance questions asked for students' self-descriptions and about areas of personal concern to the students. From these questions it can be determined whether there is a common personality disposition or a common set of problems for any of these groups. Flacks and Keniston have suggested that radicals are highly introspective, more so than the average college student, and are more concerned with the meaning of their actions and the process of growing up. They should be more aware than others of the psychological problems that have come to be known as identity issues in the transition period between adolescence and adulthood.

Students were asked if they sometimes felt they did not want to grow up. We expected this question to differentiate the radicals from other students, given their presumed greater distrust of "anyone older than thirty." However, the radicals are not more concerned about this than other groups. If anything, it is the female moderates who stand out as not being so sure about growing up (see Table IV-3). Therefore, based on responses to this question, radicals do not seem to be clinging to a romantic idealization of childhood but appear to be experiencing the same transition into adulthood as others.

Other questions have to do with what Erikson calls the "development of intimacy" as a step in the formation of an adult identity. This includes both heterosexual and like-sexed interpersonal relationships. One of these questions asks about "social sensitivity" (see Table IV-3). Although the female radicals and moderates do not differ, the male radicals (and the control group, as well) are more concerned about their sensitivity and feeling that they get hurt too easily in interpersonal situations. It is perhaps fairer to say that moderates are just less concerned about this than others. Students were also asked to rate themselves on a dimension of "being social" and "being solitary." Both the male radicals and moderates think of themselves as more solitary than the nonactivists. The striking thing about these data, however, is how much more solitary than other girls the female radicals consider themselves to be (see Table IV-3). Girls in general think of themselves as more social than males, but the female radicals depart not only from other girls but consider themselves even more solitary than any of the male groups. This may reflect somewhat less comfort about themselves in interpersonal relationships.

Greater awareness of these normal developmental problems in late adolescence is also characteristic of radicals, at least female radicals, when we look at responses to questions about general self-confidence. They report themselves to be more anxious and as having lower self-esteem than any other group (see Table IV-3). The male radicals also feel themselves to be somewhat more anxious.

A pattern seems to emerge from these results which has meaning especially for female radicals and male moderates. The girls who subsequently go into radical activity are less confident and more anxious about themselves and consider themselves to be atypically solitary, particularly so for females. This fits, perhaps, with their value concerns that are also somewhat atypical for girls. This does not mean that they are attracted to radicalism because

TABLE IV-3

Self-Evaluations

	Radicals		Moderates		Random	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Proportion who express any concern that they "don't want to grow up" (Part I, Q.111s)	27% (26)	23% (13)	12% (17)	53% (19)	34% (349)	40% (396)
Proportion who express some concern about "social sensitivity," that they "get hurt too easily" (Part I, Q.111q)	27% (26)	46% (13)	6% (17)	37% (19)	24% (349)	38% (396)
Self-rating on Social (1) - Solitary (7) (Mean scores) (Part I, Q.105)	3.42 (26)	3.85 (13)	3.53 (17)	2.68 (19)	3.00 (349)	2.97 (396)
Self-Rating on Anxious (1) - Confident (7) (Part I, Q105) (Mean Scores)	4.23 (26)	3.00 (13)	4.76 (17)	4.21 (19)	4.45 (349)	4.12 (396)
Self-Rating on General Self-Esteem High (1) - Low (7) (Mean Scores)	2.31 (26)	3.54 (13)	2.40 (15)	2.41 (17)	2.41 (349)	2.54 (396)

of these personal concerns but it is possible that radical activity is one way of working through the more difficult identity issues that girls, particularly intellectually able girls, face since societal expectations for women mean that the resolution of intimacy through marriage is necessarily somewhat in conflict with the resolution of achievement strivings through a career.

The male radicals do not seem to have a particular pattern of concerns as clearly as the female radicals do. Instead, it is the moderates among the male students who stand out. As compared to radicals or the non-activist group, they are very sure of themselves, very much in control of where they are heading, and the least concerned with problems of identity and direction. Their apparent self-assuredness is congruent with their less emotional and more pragmatic political style.

Family Experiences

Other studies have shown that student radicals are generally not rebelling against their parents but, rather, are extending the values of the family through their radical politics. They tend to come from professional and liberal families who hold humanistic values, which the young radicals have taken to heart; they are said to be searching for ways of living more consistent with these values than they consider their parents' lives to be. A number of questions we asked of entering freshmen are relevant to these kinds of familial antecedents to radicalism.

One question had to do with disagreement with parents on political issues before coming to college. Consistent with prior studies, we see no differences in amount of disagreement with either mother or father as reported by radicals, moderates, or the control group (see Table IV-4). A second question in this table probed the congruence of the student's and his parents' attitudes toward race relations. Moderate females feel their parents' position is very congruent with theirs. More disagreement was reported by the other groups of respondents but this does not differ by the kind of political involvement they have after coming to college. Since radicals held very favorable attitudes toward Negro student sit-ins, it is significant that one out of two radicals feel that their parents' attitudes toward race relations are similar to theirs. Moreover, although almost one out of two radicals feels that his parents' attitudes are more conservative than his, this appears to be the feeling of all students, except female moderates. Thus, the radicals come from liberal families and do not feel that their own attitudes toward race relations are very different from their parents' attitudes, or at least no more so than other students.

Further data on students' and their parents' political preferences can be found in Table IV-5 which shows party preferences. Male moderates alone among the activist students do not come from strongly Democratic backgrounds, and their parents are more apt to consider themselves Independents rather than Republicans.

In the breakdown of students' party vis-a-vis parents' party, we see that moderates identify with their parents' party when both parents are

TABLE IV-4

Agreement-Disagreement With Parents on Political Issues

Agreement-Disagreement on Political Beliefs (Part III, Q.25)	Radicals		Moderates		Random	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Disagreement with Father						
A good deal	12%	15%	6%	0%	7%	7%
Some	20%	15%	29%	11%	24%	21%
	(25)	(13)	(17)	(18)	(349)	(396)
Disagreement with Mother						
A good deal	13%	0%	6%	0%	5%	3%
Some	25%	31%	12%	11%	26%	17%
	(24)	(13)	(17)	(19)	(349)	(396)
Proportion who feel parents' position on race relations is "more conservative than mine"	38%	54%	56%	12%	33%	40%
	(24)	(13)	(16)	(17)	(349)	(396)

TABLE IV-5

Parents' and Respondent's Party

Male Moderates (N=17)

Parents' Party	Republican	Independent	Democratic	Radical	Other	
	6%	29%	58%	0	6%	= 100%
RR 13%	6%	6%				
RI 6		6%				
II 17		17%				
ID 17			17%			
DD 35			35%			
RD 6			6%			
Other 6					6%	
Total 100%						

Respondent's Party as Entering Freshman (columns)

% Agreement with homogeneous parents = 91%
% Heterogeneous families = 29%
% Agreement with DD parents = 100%

Female Moderates (N=16)

Parents' Party	Republican	Independent	Democratic	Radical	Other	
	0	13%	81%	0	6%	= 100%
RR 13%		6%	6%			
RI 6		6%				
II 6			6%			
ID 0						
DD 70			70%			
RD 0						
Other 6					6%	
100%						

Respondent's Party as Entering Freshman (columns)

% Agreement with homogeneous parents = 79%
% Heterogeneous families = 6%
% Agreement with DD parents = 100%

Parents' and Respondent's Party (Cont)

Male Radicals (N=29)

Respondent's Party as Entering Freshman

Parents' Party		Republican	Independent	Democratic	Radical	Other	
		3%	23%	56%	16%		= 100%
RR	7%		3%	3%			
RI	7		3%	3%			
II	7		3%		3%		
ID	3			3%			
DD	66	3%	14%	38%	10%		
DR	3			3%			
Other	7			3%	3%		
	100%						

% Agreement with homogeneous parents = 52%
% Heterogeneous families = 14%
% Agreement with DD parents = 58%

Female Radicals (N=13)

Respondent's Party as Entering Freshman

Parents' Party		Republican	Independent	Democratic	Radical	Other	
		15%	54%	23%	8%		= 100%
RR	15%	15%					
RI	8		8%				
II	15		15%				
ID	0						
DD	62		31%	23%	8%		
DR	0						
Other	0						
	100%						

% Agreement with homogeneous parents = 58%
% Heterogeneous families = 8%
% Agreement with DD parents = 38%

Democratic (100% agreement). On the whole, moderates show little deviation from their parents' party. Among radicals, however, there is a movement away from parents' party preference. Male radicals whose parents are both Democrats only identify with the Democratic party in fifty-eight percent of the cases. Among the female radicals, the figure is a very low thirty-eight percent. Also, radicals in general have broken with parents' party more than moderates, as shown by the percent agreement with homogeneous (RR, DD, II) parents. Although they did not report disagreements with parents over politics, radicals are moving away from their parents' party preferences.

Most studies show that party identification develops early in life and for most people certainly before coming to college. We see this with students here too. For instance, only one moderate reports a preference for the Republican Party by the time of entering college. Also, the radicals even before coming to college were moving psychologically outside the Democratic party in fairly high numbers, despite the fact that the concrete alternative of a national radical movement was not available to them at that time. Thus, both the moderates, in moving toward the Democratic Party, and the radicals, in moving away from the Democratic Party, had already anticipated their later identifications even before getting involved in campus political groups. While a few radicals (16% of the males, 8% of the females) do report a preference for the radical and socialist parties of the old left, there is no mention of any New Left organization at the time they entered college. Rather, affiliation with the New Left must have occurred as they discovered the presence of the organization on the campus and felt it expressed their dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party.

Possible conflict with parents was also explored for seven other areas: general values, religious beliefs, vocational plans, people dated, choice of friends, goals of a college education, interest and taste in books, music and art. Among the males, the two groups of activists do not differ from each other or from the control group in any of these areas except for vocational plans. There we find that radical males report less disagreement with their mothers than do other students and about the same amount of disagreement with their fathers. Interestingly, the professionally-oriented moderate males indicate the most disagreement with their parents, especially with their mothers (see Table IV-6). The response to this question indicates several possible things. On the one hand, the radicals may be encouraged to do what they want, rather than conforming to parents' desires. On the other hand, the small amount of disagreement with their mothers may indicate a strong identification with "feminine" values, such as creative and expressive values instead of a strong career orientation. We have seen that the radicals' mothers are unusually highly educated. This may be a factor in giving them more influence and authority in the family, especially in the area of occupational choice and life goals. The male radicals are, in fact, turning away from their fathers' professional occupations. But whether these differences in career orientations are due to greater permissiveness, or to a strong identification with the mothers' values, or to an initial difference in the values learned in the family, it does remain that radicals are strongly oriented toward personal and intellectual goals rather than career achievement, and feel no disagreement with parents over this.

TABLE IV-6

Agreement-Disagreement With Parents on Vocational Plans and Religious Beliefs

	Radicals		Moderates		Random	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Agreement-Disagreement on Vocational Plans (Part III, Q.25)						
Disagreement with Father						
A good deal	0%	8%	6%	0%	3%	4%
Some	15	0	18	17	13	14
	(26)	(12)	(17)	(18)	(349)	(396)
Disagreement with Mother						
A good deal	0%	0%	6%	5%	2%	4%
Some	8	0	29	11	11	17
	(25)	(12)	(17)	(19)	(349)	(396)
Agreement-Disagreement on Religious Beliefs (Part III, Q.25)						
Disagreement with Father						
A good deal	8%	23%	6%	11%	9%	1%
Some	28	69	24	11	21	20
	(25)	(13)	(17)	(18)	(349)	(396)
Disagreement with Mother						
A good deal	13%	23%	12%	0%	11%	12%
Some	33	62	24	26	22	19
	(24)	(13)	(17)	(19)	(349)	(396)

For female radicals, religious beliefs is an area of strong disagreement with parents (see Table IV-6). Almost all of them report at least some disagreement, while almost one-quarter experience a good deal of disagreement with both parents. This is in contrast to the small amount of disagreement other groups experience, including male radicals. It may be that religious activities and beliefs are stressed by society more for the female role. Both male and female radicals may be moving away from their parents' beliefs, as they are moving away from their political party preferences. But, if that is the case, only the female radical experiences stress in searching for new religious beliefs. If religious beliefs and activities are peripheral to the male roles, a male would have more range in religious beliefs. It is also possible that male radicals, as a group, came from less religious families, and are just carrying out their parents' beliefs. It is impossible from the data to determine what kind of movement is taking place -- whether parents of radicals find religion important or not, whether female radicals are moving away from religions altogether, or are just re-interpreting religious beliefs, and whether male radicals have become less religious or have come from less religious backgrounds. One can, however, describe the radicals as a group that emphasizes traditional religious values less than others, and, for the female radicals as a group, experiencing conflict with their parents over those values.

In summary, this set of analyses replicates the kinds of results we have seen in other studies regarding value similarity of activists and their parents. The radicals do not feel they disagree, more than other students, with their parents about political beliefs, race relations, or their vocational plans. Moreover, their more frequent departure from their parents' political parties is consistent with previous suggestions that what they are doing is extending rather than rebelling against the parents' ideologies. It is only the female radicals who have any value disagreement with their parents and that concerns their religious beliefs. (At least this is true of them as entering freshmen. We will see more evidence of disagreement with parents in the second analysis to be reported in this chapter.)

Other questions take up the respondent's relationship to the parents before coming to college. One has to do with how close the student felt to his parents as he was growing up. Both the male and female radicals reported feeling less close than moderates or the control group (see Table IV-7). This finding is contrary to Flacks' data showing strong, emotional ties within the families of radicals. The second question presented in Table IV-7 asked how well the respondent thought he or she was understood by parents. Here, the female radicals stand out from all other groups in feeling less understood, especially by their fathers.

Flacks' attempt to link the radical's emphasis on community and nonfunctional relationships to a warm, permissive, encouraging family life is somewhat questioned by these results. Radical males do not seem to be different from others in the strengths they report from their pre-college family interactions. It is possible, however, that while male radicals respond to the question concerning closeness in the family in a way that is contrary to Flacks' hypothesis, they may nevertheless come from homes that are similar to those Flacks describes. They do seem to hold self-expressing values, as well as liberal, political values, and they do not

TABLE IV-7

Emotional Relationship With Parents

	Radicals		Moderates		Random	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Feelings of closeness to parents when growing up (Part III, Q.24) (Means on four-point scale, 1 = extremely close)	2.38 (24)	2.50 (13)	2.07 (17)	2.13 (19)	2.14 (349)	2.21 (396)
Feelings of parents' understanding (Part III, Q.23) (Means on four-point scale, 1 = very well)						
Father's understanding	1.92	2.42	2.06	1.78	1.88	1.87
Mother's understanding	1.92	2.17	1.82	1.74	1.86	1.71
	(24)	(13)	(17)	(19)	(349)	(396)

report any major disagreements with their parents over those values. It is not clear, however, whether the emotional climate of the radicals' homes is more permissive or warmer than others. Among the females, on the other hand, the hypothesized relationships of radicals within their families are not as well supported. The female radicals clearly seem to be in greater, not less, conflict with their parents. They have greater conflict over religion; they feel less well understood by their parents; and they report having been less close to both their parents as they were growing up.

Summary

To highlight the experiences and backgrounds that are common to activists, as well as to differentiate among activists according to how radical they are, we must treat sex as a major variable. Female radicals have had different experiences from male radicals, just as female moderates had had different experiences from male moderates. The female radicals have experienced family conflict which the male radicals seem not to have had; they also have personal, identity concerns which are different from the male radicals. They have unusually strong intellectual values while, at the same time, are the least self-confident and most anxious students of any group we have studied. Moreover, the strong rejection of institutional roles, particularly professional career roles, is really a male, not a female, process among radicals. Similarly, while the male moderates seem to be somewhat upwardly mobile, have the same kinds of relationships with their parents as the control group, and portray a very confident personality, the female moderates already come from upper-middle class families, have closer agreement with family values of any group and appear very close to the control group in personal, identity concerns rather than showing the unusual confidence of the male moderates. It is crucial, therefore, to control for sex in trying to interpret the meaning that an individual gives to political acts and to the decision to participate in political groups.

Nevertheless, certain characteristics of entering freshmen, regardless of sex, do differentiate both groups of activists from the random sample as well as from each other. As freshmen, the students who subsequently participated in both the activist groups were more interested than the controls in political issues; they were both also more liberal regarding domestic, civil liberties, and foreign policy issues. Moreover, they entered college with stronger intellectual commitments.

In addition to these characteristics which both groups of activists hold in common, in contrast to the controls, there are also certain themes which unite the radicals as a group and differentiate them from the moderates. Although no more interested than the moderates in political issues, they came to college already predisposed to a different political style, one involving direct action strategies instead of conventional electoral politics. They were also more liberal than the moderates in their political attitudes. They have in common a certain political idealism and a self-definition as unusually intellectual and creative people. The radical females alone seem to be going through an especially strong period of personal questioning, which is probably related to tensions in their families. Nonetheless, there is a value constellation of political and self-expressive values which are shared by students, regardless of sex, who become radicals.

Very little unites both the male and female moderates. It is really the male moderates who stand out as distinctive from other students. They are traditionalists in political style and strongly committed to traditional institutional career roles. They think of themselves as unusually self-confident and self-assured. Moreover, they come from families with less education than any other group, which also means that their educational and occupational aspirations arise from a stronger objective push for generational mobility.

It is not clear that the family structures and parental relationships that Flacks has suggested are characteristic of activist students hold in this study. The male radicals' family experiences seem to be very similar to both the moderate and non-activist males. The female radicals express somewhat greater, not less, conflict with their parents, as well as reporting they have been less, not more, close to their parents. With the exception of the female radicals, we do not find many differences in the family socialization of these three groups of students, despite the fact that they enter college with different attitudes, value orientations, and expressive styles which we assume stem from experiences within the family.

Predictors of Activism, Controlling for Positive Attitudes Toward Student Protest

As described in Chapter III, a student rebellion broke out at the University of Michigan in the fall of 1966, the senior year of the 1963 cohort inolved in this study. The last phase of our data collection took place only shortly after this series of events so that we were able to include questions about student attitudes and participation in this campus protest. The question that interests us in this chapter is whether the factors that explain membership in "activist" political groups will also distinguish between students who share the same positive attitudes about student power but differ in how actively they engaged in protest themselves.

The Criterion Groups

We added a series of questions in the senior instruments which aimed at understanding participation and interest in these events; perception and evaluation of the different actors; feelings about the issues of student power; sources of information about the events; and self-reported effects of participation. From these questions we used two variables to select students: attitude toward the administration and student power, and participation in the fall events. We were concerned with getting clear types, and thus decided not to include students whose attitudes toward the administration or whose interest in the issue of student power were ambivalent or weak.

From a total senior sample of 640, we ended with a subsample of 151 students, all of whom had strong anti-administration attitudes and high interest in the student power issue. These anti-administration students were then divided into three activity levels: (1) the nonactivists, those who did not participate in any activities connected with the protest or whose only activity was voting in the draft and ranking referendum (N=41); (2) the moderates, those engaged in moderate activities such as attending a teach-in or campus rally on the issues (N=57); (3) the activists, those who engaged in direct action activities such as the sit-in in the administration building (N=53).

The Activists Among the Student Power Advocates

Those attitudes and experiences that distinguish students who joined activist groups on the campus from those who did not, also differentiate which of the student power advocates actually engaged actively in protest themselves. Most of the predictors of activism are still important even when we control for student attitudes about protest. Generally, however, it is the very involved students who stand out from both the moderates and nonactivists. In our prior analyses in this chapter, the students who joined a moderate-left group resembled those in the more radical-left group more than the politically uninvolved students. But, when we are interested in factors that predict activism among students who share similar attitudes toward the issues being protested, the moderates look much more like the nonactivists than they do like the actively involved students.

As in the previous analyses, the activists stand out from the less involved students in their political orientations. They have stronger political interests, a less traditional political style, and more "liberal" attitudes regarding domestic, foreign policy, and civil liberties issues (see Table IV-8 and IV-9). The activists, significantly more than the other two groups, report having strong interest in national and international affairs, consider themselves beter informed than other students, and report having discussed national and world affairs with friends and acquaintances more often. The activists are also less likely to place importance on "participating in the affairs of my community," a kind of conventional citizen involvement, and more likely to favor direct action strategies. Finally, on every question we asked which could be placed on a conservative-liberal dimension, the activists are considerably more liberal than the other two groups. This means that the students who translate their pro-student power attitudes into active involvement in protest are politically different from those with equally favorable attitudes about student power who did not become involved in these specific campus events. And, almost exactly the same questions that predicted membership in a new-left group on the campus also function in explaining activism in this anti-administration protest as well.

Our previous results about the value-orientations that distinguish members of activist groups from nonactivists also generalize. The student power advocates who became actively involved in the protest, just as was true of members of the new-left group, were considerably less involved in questions about career and in using college for vocational preparation (see Table IV-10). Moreover, the moderate students stand out again because they are the most involved in what a career will mean in their lives after college and in choosing professional occupations that will put them in traditional institutional roles in society. They are the least likely to go on to graduate school in the arts and sciences and the most likely to go on in professional schools.

In contrast to these concerns about the conventional meaning of career and occupational choice, the activist students seem to value intellectuality for its own sake. An intellectual orientation was characteristic of the

TABLE IV-8

Political Interests, Style and Attitudes

	Nonactivists (N=41)	Moderates (N=57)	Activists (N=53)
Amount of interest in national and international affairs (1 = great deal; 4 = none at all)	1.70	1.61	1.33
How well informed R considers self relative to most other students he knows (1 = more informed than most; 3 = less informed than most)	1.76	1.78	1.34
How often R has discussed national or world affairs with friends, acquaintances or family in last few weeks (1 = daily or almost daily; 4 = never)	1.90	1.70	1.45
Importance R expects "participation in the affairs of my community" will have in life (0 = little or no importance; 3 = crucially important)	1.23	1.92	1.18
Importance R expects "involvement in activities directed toward national and international betterment" will have	1.20	1.48	1.88

TABLE IV-9

Social-Political Attitudes

Scores on selected factor items (1 = most conservative; 5 = most liberal) (see below for items in each factor):	Nonactivists (N=41)	Moderates (N=57)	Activists (N=53)
Accommodation with left	4.20	4.36	4.78
Student protest	4.65	4.70	4.85
Student political action	4.18	4.35	4.74
Corporate power and foreign policy	3.37	3.47	4.11
Civil liberties and law enforcement	3.34	3.36	4.02
Domestic liberalism	3.74	3.94	4.32
Viet Nam	4.00	4.08	4.42

Factors are summary scores on the following items for each of which respondents checked one of five alternatives from "strongly agree" or "strongly approve" to "strongly disagree" or "strongly disapprove":

Accommodation With the Left

A former member of the Communist party who refuses to reveal the names of party members he had known should not be allowed to teach in a college or university.
Legislative committees should not investigate the political beliefs of university faculty members.
It is proper for the government to refuse a passport to a socialist.
Congressional investigations of "Un-American Activities".
Agreement with the USSR to end nuclear testing.
Giving Communist China a seat in the UN.

Student Protest

It is proper to reclassify students who sit in at the draft board.

Student Political Action

Increased student interest in political action.
Student demonstrations protesting U.S. involvement in the war in Viet Nam.
Civil rights sit-in demonstrations.

Corporate Power and Foreign Policy

Big companies control too much of American business.
Firm U.S. action against the Castro government in Cuba.
Increased spending for defense.
The decision to send our armed forces to the Dominican Republic.

Social-Political Attitudes (Cont)

Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement

The government should have the right to withhold relevant FBI files from defendants in criminal cases, when opening the files to them might reveal the names of confidential informants.

Police are unduly hampered these days in their efforts to apprehend and deal with criminals.

Domestic Liberalism

The way they are run now, labor unions do this country more harm than good.

Social security coverage for medical care of older people.

Viet Nam

What do you feel our government's policy in Viet Nam should be? (Alternatives from "withdraw completely from Viet Nam" to "adopt a much stronger military position, even if it means a direct confrontation with Communist China").

TABLE IV-10

Career Emphasis

	Nonactivists (N=41)	Moderates (N=57)	Activists (N=53)
Importance of "thinking through what career I want" as a goal for college (rank position among seven possible goals; lower number equals higher importance)	2.64	3.12	3.55
Expected importance of career or occupation in life after college (percent saying "crucially important")	27%	46%	25%
Percent planning to attend graduate school in the arts and sciences	45%	26%	49%
Percent planning to attend professional schools	22%	41%	25%

members of both the moderate-left, and particularly the new-left, groups in the previous analyses. Now we see in a number of ways that the activists in this student protest are also more intellectual (see Table IV-11). They report discussing ideas and having intellectual exchanges with other students as a more important part of their college experiences; they report doing more serious reading outside of class; they consider "exploring ideas, the excitement of learning" as a more important goal for college; and they are more apt to rate themselves as intellectual in a self-description inventory. The moderates are also somewhat more intellectual than the students who did not participate at all but they are still distinguishable from the more intellectually-oriented activists.

Concern with self-expressive values and somewhat greater preoccupation with identity issues, which we saw at least among the female members of the new-left group, are also characteristic of the students who become actively involved in the student protest (see Tables IV-12 and IV-13). Both the moderates and the actively involved students think of themselves as more sensitive, more unconventional, freer, more spontaneous, and more of a dreamer than do the nonactivist students. They also place greater stress on "finding myself, discovering what kind of person I really want to be," as a goal for college. Finally, when they are asked to identify with several types of students, they are less likely than the nonactivist students to think of themselves as "ordinary, average-type students" and more apt to identify with "intellectual students" or "creative nonconformists." This focus on identity and rejection of the average for the somewhat more unconventional is even more characteristic of the actively than of the moderately involved students. In addition, the activists, but not the moderates, also identify with students "who are concerned with national affairs." We see, then, that these activists, like the members of the more radical student group, are more concerned about self-definition and also define themselves in intellectual and political terms that are consistent with their behavior.

We see little evidence, however, in the way these activists define themselves and talk about their problems for viewing them as experiencing unusual psychological stress. Greater anxiety, less confidence, and lower self-esteem, which did seem to be characteristic of the female radicals in the new-left group, do not seem to differentiate activists as a whole from other students among the student power advocates.

When we look at family experiences, the results are somewhat different from those we just reported for members of activist groups when they were freshmen. It was only the female radicals who seemed to have much conflict or disagreement with their parents, and then particularly in the religious area. But, in the present analyses, we find that, as seniors, the activists in this campus protest do experience greater conflict with their parents, particularly around basic value issues (see Table IV-14). In talking about their mothers, the activists are more apt to say they have disagreements about both political and religious issues. Both the moderates and radicals report more disagreement with their fathers, again regarding political and religious beliefs as well as general values about what is important in life. So, rather than simply extending their parents' values, as most commentators

TABLE IV-11

General Intellectual Value Orientations

	Nonactivists (N=41)	Moderates (N=57)	Activists (N=53)
Importance of discussing ideas and having intellectual exchange with other students (1 = crucial, 5 = not at all important)	2.25	1.86	1.69
Amount of serious reading outside of class (1 = quite a lot, 3 = not much)	2.55	2.13	2.00
Rank given to "exploring new ideas, the excitement of learning" among seven possible goals for college (lower number = greater importance)	2.14	2.05	1.75
Self-rating as intellectual or non-intellectual (7 point scale, 1 = most intellectual)	2.64	2.49	2.21

TABLE IV-12

Self-Ratings of Personality Styles

	Nonactivists (N=41)	Moderates (N=57)	Activists (N=53)
Mean Score on semantic differential defined by following pairs of adjectives (first adjective = 1, second = 7)			
Social - Solitary	3.45	3.82	3.64
Sensitive - Insensitive	2.12	1.85	1.70
Conventional - Unconventional	4.20	4.75	5.15
Practical - A Dreamer	3.12	4.04	3.88
Free - Constrained	3.30	2.72	2.78
Rigid - Spontaneous	5.01	5.49	5.25
Happy - Unhappy	2.75	2.77	2.98
Relaxed - Tense	4.04	3.78	3.94
Anxious - Confident	4.43	4.45	4.50
Competent - Not Too Competent	2.30	2.58	2.09
Successful - Not Too Successful	2.49	2.78	2.48

TABLE IV-13

Identity Concerns and Self-Identifications

	Nonactivists (N=41)	Moderates (N=57)	Activists (N=53)
Percent saying they feel similar to the following student types:			
Intellectuals	42%	54%	60%
Creative nonconformists	19%	32%	46%
Concerned with social-political issues	18%	24%	59%
Concerned with studying-getting good grades	30%	34%	27%
Concerned with field or occupation	24%	18%	17%
Casual, average types	49%	29%	8%
Rank given to "finding myself, discovering what kind of person I really want to be" among seven possible goals for college (lower score = greater importance)	2.80	2.31	1.99

TABLE IV-14

Relationships With Parents

	With Mother			With Father		
	Nonactivists (N=41)	Moderates (N=57)	Activists (N=53)	Nonactivists (N=41)	Moderates (N=57)	Activists (N=53)
Proportion expressing "a good deal" of disagreement with parents on:						
Values	7%	15%	17%	4%	35%	31%
Political Beliefs	6%	7%	25%	8%	20%	25%
Religious Beliefs	20%	19%	35%	20%	17%	30%
Goals of College	6%	4%	10%	8%	14%	20%
Interest in books, music, art	14%	22%	24%	22%	35%	29%
My vocational plans	6%	2%	8%	5%	7%	9%
Closeness With Parents (four point scale, 1 = extremely close, 4 = not very close)	2.30	2.29	2.34	2.21	2.60	2.75

of the student scene suggest they are doing, these activists seem to have some basic value disagreements with their parents, particularly their fathers. It must be emphasized here that these students were questionned in their senior year, 1966, at the height in the rise of student political and cultural rebellion, when the gap between students and parents would be maximal -- particularly in those families where the children had begun to act on their beliefs.

In addition to this somewhat greater conflict with their fathers, we also find that the activists, and the moderates as well, report feeling less close to their fathers. This means that again, contrary to the familial relationships that Flacks suggested were characteristic of radicals a few years earlier, we either find no differences between activists and nonactivists, as is the case in the way the students talk about their mothers, or we find that activists report somewhat less, rather than more, warmth and closeness, as is the case when they talk about relationships with their fathers.

All in all, the predictors of activism seem to be very similar regardless of the way we define activism. The actively involved students tend to stand out in their political interests, style, and attitudes; in their value orientations, particularly in their more committment to intellectuality and self-expressive values; and in their reflection of stress on conventional career concerns.

PART TWO

PEER RELATIONSHIPS AND STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

We noted in our introductory chapter that, over the past decade, research on the impact of college on students has tended to shift from the mere demonstration of freshmen-senior differences and changes, to attempts to analyze and relate these changes to different aspects of the college experience. Research that has had an extensive multi-institutional design has related student characteristics and impacts to overall characteristics of the institution. Studies like the present one, that have focused intensively on one or a limited number of institutions, have been more concerned with analyzing the process by which influence is exerted in a college setting.

It is interesting that the major empirical research in this latter tradition has tended to view college impact as a process of socialization and social influence, rather than a more intellectual process (see, for example, Newcomb, 1943; Newcomb, et al., 1967; Wallace, 1966; Vreeland and Bidwell, 1965, 1966). The predominant framework has been to view student change as a process of taking over the values of faculty and/or peers, rather than as an intellectual integration of the information and content material to which one is exposed in college. For example, Bidwell and Vreeland (forthcoming, and Vreeland and Bidwell, 1966) in their study of the impact of departments, have focused not on the substantive and intellectual differences among departments, but rather on the faculty-student relationships and the issue of whether or not faculty see their role in "moral" terms, with values an important aspect of what they are teaching. It is also of interest that most of these studies have not only focused on social interaction, but have stressed peer interaction rather than relationships with faculty (to some extent because the research was primarily interested in student attitudes and values where peers have particular relevance, rather than intellectual and vocational outcomes where faculty are more relevant).

This focus may partly reflect the fact that the major systematic quantitative research in this area has been the work of sociologists and social psychologists like Newcomb, Bidwell, Wallace and their associates, who have naturally focused on socialization and social influence processes. But it is also evident that these research studies have chosen a very crucial aspect of the influence process in college. One would not find much disagreement with Feldman and Newcomb's conclusion that "there are few observers of undergraduate education in America who doubt that colleges' impacts, insofar as they occur at all, are in one way or another mediated, enhanced, or counteracted by peer group influences" (Feldman and Newcomb, 1969, p. 222). In this connection it is interesting to recall that Jacob, approaching the analysis of college impact from a very different tradition than the sociologists and social psychologists, also came to the conclusion in his landmark review of the literature that the major impact of a college is as a socializing experience.[1] (Jacob 1957).

Thus, in its concern with the student's interpersonal experiences, particularly with fellow students, this study falls within an established tradition of research on college impacts. It differs in two ways from most other studies in this area: in the broader range of variables it is attempting to deal with in analyzing the student's friendship relationships; and in its attempts to analyze the impact of these relationships within a sociological perspective that places these relationships in their broader institutional context. We will comment briefly on each of these two major thrusts of the present study.

Some Critical Dimensions of Peer Relationships

Typically in the study of peer influences in college, the influence of an individual or group, B, upon an individual, A, have been viewed as a function of the attitudinal positions of B and A, the frequency of interaction between B and A, and the strength of attraction of A to B. The general hypothesis underlying the choice of these dimensions has been the assumption that there are forces on an individual's belief systems to change in the direction of "congruity" or "balance" with those of the significant referent figures in his environment. Within this framework, the mere fact that a good friend has a position on an issue that is different from one's own, constitutes a pressure to change one's position.

Without denying that such a discrepancy in value-positions constitutes a potential pressure for change, we expect that the extent to which this is true depends on other dimensions of the relationship. One such dimension that has been of concern in this study is the relevance of the attitude or value to the relationship. In some relationships, one's ideological position is crucial; in others, the irrelevance of one's value position can even become a major raison d'etre of the relationship, the emphasis being on mutual acceptance for "what you are." And, in any given relationship, relevance will vary according to the given value or attitude in question, one's position on some issues being more relevant to the maintenance of the relationship than others.

The question of relevance is crucial to studies of group influence because it defines those issues which are normative in the group. It is also an important issue for educators. Part of the reason for the increasing interest in the study of peer group influences in educational institutions has been the concern that intellectual interests and broader educative goals are not generally relevant in the peer group interactions that are major influences during the college years. A number of institutional innovations on the college scene -- e.g., the Residential College discussed in Chapter II -- have as a major implicit and sometimes explicit aim the creation of the type of environment that will make such broader intellectual concerns relevant to student peer interactions and influences.

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[1] Jacob's major difference with a social psychologist like Newcomb is in the implications he draws from this socialization interpretation. In Jacob's view this minimizes the significance of the changes that occur in college. Jacob saw these changes as superficial, an adjustment to social norms rather than an "internalization of a new set of beliefs. Sociologists and psychologists would question this interpretation, given the fact that all our values and attitudes are imbedded in social and cultural networks, and that many significant changes occur in the post-childhood years that do not involve the internalization processes characteristic of the early formative years.

Another dimension that affects influence and impact is the bases of attraction of the students' relationships. A body of social psychological work on social influence has documented the view that influence effects depend on the basis of the relationships between the influencer and the person influenced, on what the person being influenced is looking for and getting in the relationship. Our attempts to translate this work to the setting of college peer relationships is discussed in detail in Chapter V.

In exploring these issues of relevance and the bases of attraction, we are attempting to tie the influence-potential of peer relationships to some of the qualitative aspects of these relationships, particularly the purposes and functions that they serve. While this has not heretofore been systematically investigated in the studies of peer influence in college, it has been the subject of a few studies of faculty influence which have tied impact on students to the types of relationships that follow from different faculty goals and purposes with respect to students (Gamson, 1966, Vreeland and Bidwell, 1966). These studies have demonstrated the need for examining such dimensions of the potential influence relationship, if we are to understand the process by which significant referent figures in the student environment exert their influence and impact.

The Group and Institutional Context of Peer Relationships

The rationale for highlighting the student's interpersonal experiences in a study of college impact, rests on the assumption that the influences of the college environment are for the most part mediated through persons. To see peer relationships as relevant to issues of socialization requires that we place them within their broader institutional settings. The types of interaction variables of interest in this study -- the particular persons with whom a student interacts, the type of student to whom he becomes attracted, the issues that are relevant and normative in their relationships, the kinds of influence relationships established with other students and faculty -- are all affected by the characteristics of the social organization and suborganization within which these relationships occur.

Our approach to this broader institutional context developed considerably during the course of this study, mainly with the addition of Zelda Gamson to the study staff. Our initial concern focused on the informal subparts of the institution -- the different student subcultures which tend to organize and pattern the lives and experiences of students in a university. Our approach changed in two directions. We moved from a focus on the informal subcultures to a study of formal student organizations.

And we became more concerned with the study of how the internal processes within these institutional sub-units were affected by the relationships these sub-organizations have with the broader institution, with the role that they play in the university. Both of these developments, and the implications they have for the study of socialization processes in a multiversity, are discussed more fully in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER V

Varieties of College Friendships[1]

We have indicated our particular interest in this study in relating peer influence to the nature of the relationship a student forms with other students, specifically the bases of attraction in his friendship relationships. This chapter presents the theoretical background of this interest, and some of our data relating to these theoretical issues.

Theoretical Background: Bases of Attraction and Power

The theoretical background for this aspect of the study comes mainly from the work of French and Raven (1959) and Kelman (1958) in delineating different bases of influence or "power," and Newcomb's (1960) categorization of different sources of attraction. Power and attraction are sometimes considered separate concepts in the social influence literature. Power is defined as the maximum potential ability of one actor to influence another (Cartwright, 1959). Attraction is defined as the psychological force acting on an individual to remain in a relationship (or group) (Cartwright and Zander, 1960). Although these concepts do imply the perspectives of different actors, power residing in B and attraction felt by A, they nevertheless are highly related to each other. The basis of A's attraction to B should define the way through which B can influence him, thereby defining the basis of B's power in the relationship. It is unlikely that B can influence another person unless he represents something or commands resources to which the other person is attracted. The way bases of power and attraction are discussed by writers who have used one or the other, but generally not both, of the concepts supports this view that the two concepts are closely coordinated.

Power and Attraction Involving Control of Desired Rewards. French and Raven (1959) define reward power as the ability of one person to mediate the rewards another person wants. It is very similar to what Kelman (1958) calls means-control power or the ability to control specific, concrete resources desired by another person. Moreover, both of these terms seem to imply what Newcomb (1960) means by attraction based on role support, the rewards that come from participating in pleasurable activities with another person. In this kind of relationship another person is attractive because he is a means to doing the things one likes. This instrumental type of power and attraction is generally considered to produce rather limited, short-lived change effects that depend on the continued surveillance of the influence agent.

Power and Attraction Involving Identification Processes: Parallels also exist between French and Raven's and Kelman's use of identification power and Newcomb's concept of attraction based on value support.

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[1] The analyses presented in this chapter are taken from the doctoral dissertation of John R. O'Connor, described in Appendix A.

Identification-based power occurs, according to French and Raven as well as Kelman, when the influence agent possesses qualities which the other person would like to emulate or are similar to the way he already views himself. Although none of Newcomb's attraction bases appears to dovetail with identification as a striving to be like another person, his use of value support is probably a special instance of one person's sense of already being like another. And, in a way, attraction based on admiration or attributing qualities to another person which one likes might be considered the projection phase of classical identification. Therefore, the combination of attraction based on value support and attraction based on admiration captures pretty well, from the point of view of the person to be influenced, what identification power means, from the point of view of the influence agent. Relationships based on identification are generally viewed as having more extensive, persistent and internalized effects than relationships that are more instrumentally oriented.

Power and Attraction Involving Cognitive Processes: Finally, considerable similarity exists among the concepts of expert power, defined by French and Raven as having its source in the influence agent's superior knowledge and information as well as legitimacy for imparting it to others; credibility power, defined by Kelman as stemming from the influence agent's knowledge about the content of an issue and trustability for telling the truth; and Newcomb's concept of attraction based on respect for another person's wisdom. In all of these concepts there is the theme that one person is interested in the content of an issue, believes that the other person is knowledgeable about it and that what he says can be trusted either because of his legitimate position or because of his own personal qualities. This emphasis on content makes this kind of relationship more intellectual and somewhat less affective than identification relationships where the person himself, rather than what he knows, is the central element. Moreover, this somewhat greater emphasis on content than on the source of influence is what makes Kelman suggest that such relationships should produce even greater internalization. Otherwise, the influence effects may be very similar to those supposedly following from identification relationships.

Research Questions

In this study we have been interested in all of these possible types of relationships that students may form with each other, and with a number of questions about their meaning in a large multiuniversity such as the University of Michigan. In this chapter we will consider two of those questions.

1. To what extent are these concepts meaningful for characterizing the types of relationships that students form in college?

2. Are these qualities in friendships general regardless of the sex of friends, or, are some types of friendships clearly sex-linked?

The data on which the analyses in this chapter are based derive from the interviews given in the spring of 1964, when our 1962 cohort was finishing their sophomore year and our 1963 cohort their freshman year. As outlined in the introductory chapter of this report, interviews were also given to the five best friends chosen by seventy-five of the students from our basic interview sample. All in all, data from 587 interview respondents were used for these analyses.

During the course of the interview, students were asked to rate the following items for how important they were in their relationships with each of their two closest friends in college:

A. This friend helps me with my studies
B. This friend broadens my social life--helps me meet other people, helps me get dates
C. My relationships with this friend is easy, relaxing, "comfortable"
D. This friend is someone I share my deepest personal feelings with--my confusions and self-doubts
E. I have stimulating talks with this friend--intellectual exchanges, exchange of ideas
F. This friend and I share a lot of activity interests--we like doing the same kinds of things
G. This friend and I have similar values about things--I get support for some of my basic values from this friend
H. This friend admires me, looks up to me--this gives me self-confidence, it's good for my ego
I. This friend is just a very likeable person
J. This friend is someone I look to and learn from with respect to ideas or ways of looking at things
K. This friend likes me--the good feeling I get from being liked
L. This friend is knowledgeable--has a lot of information that has helped me with decisions

These twelve items, which we thought measured the types of attractions discussed in the social influence literature, were then factor analyzed to see if the way students think about their closest friendships in college empirically fit these concepts.[2] Separate analyses were performed for the total sample, and then for each of four sub-samples generated as follows. Friendships were divided into relationships between same-sex and opposite-sex persons. The opposite-sex friendships were sub-divided into romantic friendships and those not so described. Romantic opposite-sex friendships were further sub-divided into two groups indicating the sex of the respondent. This yielded four analysis sub-samples: (1) same-sex male; (2) same-sex female; (3) opposite-sex romantic, respondent male, and (4) opposite-sex romantic, respondent female.

Analysis of All Friendships

Analysis of the undifferentiated set of friendships will be presented first. In order to distinguish it from later sub-set analyses, it will be identified as the All Friendship analysis. This analysis serves two purpuses. First, it lets us see the extent to which these empirical categories seem to measure the power and attraction concepts we described earlier; second, it may be used as a common reference point for interpreting the factors obtained in sub-set analyses.

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[2] Five orthogonal factors were extracted through normalized Varimax rotation following principal component analysis. Communalities were estimated by placing unities in the diagonals, and iteration was not performed.

Table V-1 presents the factor structure for All Friendships, based on a sample of 1,132 friendships. The factors are ordered (by Roman numerals) according to their decreasing contribution to explained variance. Factor contribution refers to the proportion of extracted variance accounted for by a particular factor. Since ideal variance is equal to the total number of variables, it can be seen that the five factors explain 53 percent of this hypothetical quantity (thus: the sum of contributions = 6.35/12 = 53%). By inspection, individual factors explain approximately equal proportions of ideal variance (percentages range from 24% for Factor I to 17% for Factor V).

Examination of Table V-1 indicates that items cluster in a way that generally reflects the major concepts of interest to us. The items that load highly on Factor I are:

> This friend is someone I look to and learn from with respect to ideas or ways of looking at things (.64)
>
> I have stimulating talks with this friend--intellectual exchanges, exchange of ideas (.56)
>
> This friend and I have similar values about things--I get support for some of my basic values from this friend (.55)
>
> This friend is someone I share my deepest personal feelings with--my confusions and self-doubts (.52)

The clustering of these four items suggests that Factor I has to do with emotional and normative support, mediated by communication from an instructive or otherwise authoritative friend. It captures the affectivity and value support implied by Kelman's and Raven's concept of identification and what Newcomb means by interpersonal attraction based on value support. In addition, however, this factor also suggests that the student attributes a broad expertise to the friend. Looking to and learning from the friend connotes conscious modeling, which depends as much on cognitive as affective processes. Therefore, this factor seems to combine aspects of what Kelman means by identification and internalization, depending as those two influence processes do on both an emotional tie with a person who represents important values and learning from the person because of his expertise or credibility. We will call it a measure of modeling so as to capture both of these elements.

The items that load highly on Factors II and III seem to be aspects of what Kelman calls means-control power and what Newcomb calls attraction based on role-support. The two items with high loadings on Factor II are:

> This friend admires me, looks up to me -- this gives me self-confidence, it's good for my ego (.76)

TABLE V-1

Factor Loadings After Rotation: All Friendships

Friendship Item	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV	Factor V	h^2
A. This friend helps me with my studies	-.26	.27	-.14	-.25	.61	.60
B. This friend broadens my social life--helps me meet other people, helps me get dates	.11	.71	.05	.12	.04	.54
C. My relationship with this friend is easy, relaxing, "comfortable"	.09	-.06	.72	-.08	-.04	.54
D. This friend is someone I share my deepest personal feelings with--my confusions and self-doubts	.52	.28	-.24	-.37	-.22	.59
E. I have stimulating talks with this friend--intellectual exchanges, exchange of ideas	.56	.05	.24	.01	-.18	.41
F. This friend and I share a lot of activity interests--we like doing the same kinds of things	.04	.10	.71	-.13	.02	.54
G. This friend and I have similar values about things--I get support for some of my basic values from this friend	.55	.03	.02	-.12	.09	.33
H. This friend admires me, looks up to me--this gives me self-confidence, it's good for my ego	-.02	.76	.00	-.01	.05	.59
I. This friend is just a very likeable person	-.06	.00	.24	-.65	.02	.48
J. This friend is someone I look to and learn from with respect to ideas or ways of looking at things	.64	-.04	.02	.11	.28	.50
K. This friend likes me--the good feeling I get from being liked	.13	-.13	.35	-.71	.08	.54
L. This friend is knowledgeable--has a lot of information that has helped me with decisions	.35	-.05	.07	.03	.74	.67
Factor Contributions	1.53	1.28	1.23	1.20	1.10	= 6.35

> This friend broadens my social life-helps me meet other people, helps me get dates (.71)

These items suggest that the friend mediates social resources the student wants. Where these are important qualities in the friendship, we might think of it as based on social role support.

The two items with high loadings on Factor III also have to do with resources the friendship provides but they focus more on sharing common interests in such things as sports, hobbies, clubs, and other sorts of leisure routines -- in short, those things that friends do together to relax and seek enjoyment. They are:

> My relationship with this friend is easy, relaxing, "comfortable" (.72)
>
> This friend and I share a lot of activity interests -- we like doing the same kinds of things (.71)

We have called this a measure of activity-role support.

The fifth factor seems to measure a restricted type of expertise, one limited to seeing the friend as an academic expert. The two items that load highly on this factor are:

> This friend is knowledgeable -- has a lot of information that has helped me with deicions (.74)
>
> This friend helps me with my studies (.61)

The support that is implied by these items is not only assistance with course work but also help with matters related to an academic career, such as choice of major subject and long range occupational goals. This academic emphasis is an understandable theme for expertness in a college setting. Presumably, the content of this factor would change in different populations characterized by different sorts of societal positions. Moreover, the broader meaning of influence based on generalized expertise shows up in this analysis in the combined cognitive-affective factor which we have called a measure of modeling.

Finally, there is one additional factor which does not fit these concepts as well. The two items that load on this factor have to do with reciprocated liking and attraction in the relationship. They are:

> This friend likes me -- the good feeling I get from feeling liked (.71)
>
> This friend is just a very likable person (.65)

We might think that this quality of mutual attraction and likeability of the friend would also characterize identification, role-support, and expertness relationships as well. But, the fact that this distinct factor appears suggests that some students have relationships in which little else beyond sheer attraction is important.

The major way in which these clusterings differ somewhat from our expectations is the fact that the modeling measure includes an item (looking to and learning from the friend) which should have clustered with the expertness items if affective and cognitive aspects of students' relationships are as separable as Kelman suggests. Instead of reflecting just the strong emotional aspects of identification, our measure of modeling also involves respect for the friend as a model. Moreover, our measure of expertness, restricted as it is to academic expertise, is much more limited in content than what Kelman means by expertise and credibility. These are important differences since Kelman feels that the deepest and most persistent influence effects are generated by relationships where cognitive processes predominate over affective ones. But, because the cognitive element is so strong in our measure of modeling, and the range of content implied in our measure of expertness is so limited, we would expect internalization effects to be stronger where both cognitive and emotional processes characterize the friendship.

Same-Sex Male Friendships

Table V-2 presents factors after rotation for this sub-sample of 471 friendships. The five factors account for 54 percent of the hypothetical variance, with each making a substantial contribution to this explanation.

When like-sexed friendships of the male sample are analyzed, the following factors emerge as essentially the same as those obtained in the All Friendship analysis: a likeability factor (Factor III); a social role-support factor (II); and an activity role-support factor (V).

Factor I resembles the modeling factor found in the previous analyses but with interesting differences. Here, both items concerned with expertness (looking to and learning from the friend, and seeing the friend as knowledgeable) are clustered with the item measuring value similarity and support. Moreover, in contrast to the All Friendship analysis, the affectivity item (sharing personal feelings) and the converstaion item (stimulating talks -- intellectual exchange) load only slightly on this factor. Thus, this factor implies greater authoritativeness, but much less emotionally supportive communication, than the more general modeling measure resulting from the All Friendship analysis. At the same time, insofar as male friends provide cognitive support to each other, it seems to be in value areas rather than in academic matters. The meaning of this factor is perhaps best captured by cognitive-value support.

Factor IV exhibits a strong positive association with the study-help item and a strong negative association with the item about having stimulating talks and intellectual exchange with the friend. In addition, looking to the friend as a model carries a moderate negative loading and seeing the friend as knowledgeable, which was associated with the study help item in the All Friendship analysis, has a very low loading on this

TABLE V-2

Factor Loadings After Rotation: Same-Sex Male Friendships Only

Friendship Item	Factor I	II	III	IV	V	h^2
A. This friend helps me with my studies	.14	-.12	-.23	.71	-.05	.60
B. This friend broadens my social life--helps me meet other people, helps me get dates	.00	-.73	.10	-.09	-.04	.55
C. My relation with this friend is easy, relaxing, "comfortable"	-.08	.04	-.27	-.40	.61	.62
D. This friend is someone I share my deepest personal feelings with--my confusions and self-doubts	.37	-.40	-.33	.06	-.08	.39
E. I have stimulating talks with this friend--intellectual exchanges, exchange of ideas	.27	-.16	-.27	-.55	-.02	.47
F. This friend and I share a lot of activity interests--we like doing the same kinds of things	.13	-.04	.01	.11	.88	.80
G. This friend and I have similar values about things--I get support for some of my basic values from this friend	.62	-.04	.01	-.03	.11	.40
H. This friend admires me, looks up to me--this gives me self-confidence, it's good for my ego	.00	-.78	.05	.07	.07	.62
I. This friend is just a very likeable person	-.03	.10	-.63	.22	.20	.49
J. This friend is someone I look to and learn from with respect to ideas or ways of looking at things	.57	-.09	.02	-.38	-.02	.48
K. This friend likes me--the good feeling I get from feeling liked	-.03	.07	-.73	-.15	-.02	.55
L. This friend is knowledgeable--has a lot of information that has helped me with decisions	.70	.09	.03	.14	-.02	.52
Factor contributions	1.45	1.35	1.24	1.23	1.21	= 6.50

factor. Thus, we do not think of this as even a restricted measure of expertise. Rather, it seems to be another type of means-control, using the friend instrumentally for performance role-support.

Finally, it is important to note that the affectivity item (sharing personal feelings and self-doubts) does not load highly on any of the five factors. This suggests that emotional support is not a resource that male friends typically obtain from each other in any of their characteristic types of relationships.

Cross-Sex Romantic Friendships of Males

The factor structure of this analysis, based on 71 friendships, appears in Table V-3. Here, five factors explain 62% of the ideal variance.

In contrast to their like-sexed friendships, males do have strongly affective relationships with girls. Talking about personal feelings, having self-doubts, and having stimulating talks of an intellectual sort characterize one kind of relationship males have with their girl friends (see Factor IV). In addition, this type of relationship involves looking somewhat to the girl as a model with respect to ideas and ways of looking at things. We could call this a measure of affective-intellectual support.

The broad expertness we saw in males' like-sexed friendships still exists as a separate factor in the cross-sex analyses as well, although value support is not part of it now. Instead, it is a pure measure of cognitive support, made up of looking to the girl as a model and seeing her as a knowledgeable person who has helped him with decisions (see Factor V).

The value-support aspect of what Kelman means by identification, instead of being merged with broad expertness as it was in the males' friendships with other males, is part of what we have called social-role support in the previous analyses. Gaining support for his basic values, increasing his self-confidence through being admired by the girl, and getting a good feeling from being liked characterize this kind of cross-sex relationship. It seems to have a lot to do with ego-enhancement for the male, a part of which is validation of his own values (see Factor I).

Finally, we also see two kinds of role-support that males receive in their cross-sex romantic friendships. One is the familiar activity-role support that comes from having an easy, comfortable relationship with a girl with whom he shares many activity interests (Factor II). The other includes using the girl both for help with his studies and for broadening his social life (Factor III). This connotes a relationship that depends heavily on a study-date. This combination of social and performance role-support in cross-sex romantic friendships contrasts sharply with males' like-sexed friendships. Getting help with studies from another male is done in isolation from other possible meanings a friendship could have. Some male like-sexed friendships depend on performance role support but when they do, they have little else important about them.

TABLE V-3

Factor Loadings After Rotation: Cross-Sex Romantic Friendships, Respondents Male Only

Friendship Item	Factor I	II	III	IV	V	h^2
A. This friend helps me with my studies	-.09	-.08	.70	-.14	.14	.54
B. This friend broadens my social life--helps me meet other people, helps me get dates	-.20	.16	.73	.19	.08	.64
C. My relationship with this friend is easy, relaxing, "comfortable"	-.12	.77	-.01	-.08	.29	.70
D. This friend is someone I share my deepest personal feelings with--my confusions and self-doubts	.31	-.05	.12	.62	-.02	.49
E. I have stimulating talks with this friend--intellectual exchanges, exchange of ideas	-.16	.15	-.08	.76	-.08	.64
F. This friend and I share a lot of activity interests--we like doing the same kinds of things	.10	.79	-.02	.08	-.22	.70
G. This friend and I have similar values about things--I get support for some of my basic values from this friend	.71	.04	-.06	.19	.12	.57
H. This friend admires me, looks up to me--this gives me self-confidence, it's good for my ego	.46	-.14	.59	-.01	-.24	.64
I. This friend is just a very likeable person	.35	.47	.02	.07	-.08	.35
J. This friend is someone I look to and learn from with respect to ideas or ways of looking at things	.01	-.26	-.06	.51	.65	.76
K. This friend likes me--the good feeling I get from being liked	.79	.12	-.15	-.15	.10	.69
L. This friend is knowledgeable--has a lot of information that has helped me with decisions	.20	.09	.19	-.28	.76	.74
Factor Contributions	1.70	1.61	1.46	1.43	1.26	= 7.45

Females' Like-Sexed Friendships

The factor structure for friendships in which both friends are female is presented in Table V-4. This analysis is based on 440 friendships. Fifty-three percent of the ideal variance is explained.

Value-support and emotional closeness, the two elements Kelman suggests are part of identification relationships, do not go together in girls' like-sexed friendships any more than they do in the relationships males form in college. But, in contrast to males' like-sexed friendships where value-support is part of a more general cognitive support, or to their romantic relationships where it is part of ego-enhancement, value-support in girls' like-sexed friendships is one part of a strongly verbal relationship. Sharing activity interests, having stimulating talks, and gaining value support characterizes one kind of female friendship (Factor I). This clustering suggests that, in a sense, when women friends get together, an important resource they offer to each other is the activity of talking. And, the talking centers, at least in part on values. Moreover, the negative loading of study-help confirms that the talking is not about strictly academic matters.

These like-sexed female friendships strikingly show how cognitive aspects of expert-based relationships and affective aspects of identification can be merged in real life. Talking about feelings and sharing self-doubts occur with other girls who are seen as experts -- knowledgeable about a lot of things and models with respect to ideas and ways of looking at things (Factor III). So, exploration of self-feelings is not as likely to happen when a girl looks at her friend as her emotional equal as when she thinks the friend can help her out of her greater knowledge or experience. We have called this a measure of cognitive-affective modeling because it is closest to the All Friendship measure of modeling. Still, it is even more cognitive and lacks the value-support that the previous measure of modeling included. This merger of affectivity and expertise sharply contrasts with males' friendships since sharing feelings is not part of any type of male like-sexed relationship and is separated from expertise in their cross-sex romantic relationships.

As with the males' cross-sex romantic relationships, we find social and performance role-support merged in girls' like-sex friendships. Here it connotes a kind of "Big sister" relationship that often occurs among college women (Factor II).

The remaining two factors are familiar ones -- the likeability factor (IV) that we saw in the All Friendship and males' like-sex friendship analyses and the activity role-support factor (V). Sharing of activity interests and finding the relationship comfortable and relaxing characterize certain female relationships, just as they do certain male like-sex relationships, although in the female analysis the activity item also loads on the verbal relationship factor as well.

TABLE V-4

Factor Loadings After Rotation: Same-Sex Female Friendships Only

Friendship Item	Factor I	 II	 III	 IV	 V	h^2
A. This friend helps me with my studies	-.33	.64	.07	.12	.10	.55
B. This friend broadens my social life--helps me meet other people, helps me get dates	.29	.59	-.11	.12	-.37	.59
C. My relationship with this friend is easy, relaxing, "comfortable"	.08	.04	.09	.09	.82	.70
D. This friend is someone I share my deepest personal feelings with--my confusions and self-doubts	.06	-.05	.66	-.12	.27	.53
E. I have stimulating talks with this friend--intellectual exchanges, exchange of ideas	.66	-.07	.25	-.07	-.03	.51
F. This friend and I share a lot of activity interests--we like doing the same kinds of things	.67	.04	-.20	.17	.31	.61
G. This friend and I have similar values about things--I get support for some of my basic values from this friend	.49	-.05	.26	.04	-.05	.31
H. This friend admires me, looks up to me--this gives me self-confidence, it's good for my ego	-.02	.71	.07	-.20	.08	.55
I. This friend is just a very likeable person	.15	.05	-.08	.70	.22	.57
J. This friend is someone I look to and learn from with respect to ideas or ways of looking at things	.15	.02	.62	.12	.00	.43
K. This friend likes me--the good feeling I get from being liked	-.07	-.10	.23	.71	-.11	.59
L. This friend is knowledgeable--has a lot of information that has helped me with decisions	.09	.27	.51	.28	-.22	.47
Factor Contributions	1.37	1.36	1.34	1.22	1.11	= 6.41

Females' Cross-Sex Relationships

Table V-5 presents the factor structure for this sub-sample, based on 84 friendships. Fifty-nine percent of the hypothetical variance is explained by five factors.

In several respects this factor structure is closer to the analysis of males' like-sex relationships than to any other analyses. For instance, one kind of romantic cross-sex relationship that girls form in college involves both the value-support and cognitive elements implied in looking to and learning from the friend. This combination was also characteristic of one kind of friendship males have with each other. In the girls' cross-sex relationships, however, having stimulating talks of an intellectual sort is also part of this value and cognitive support factor (I). And one of the expert items, seeing the friend as knowledgeable, which was part of the value-cognitive support factor in male friendships, is missing here. Instead, seeing the friend as knowledgeable is associated with sharing activity interests in girls' cross-sex romantic friendships (II), which probably reflects the tendency of girls to value the boyfriend's "expertness" in managing activities for their dates, his knowledge of what do do when they are together.

Another similarity between these cross-sex romantic ties of the girls and male-male friendships is the fact that affectivity is not associated with any other element of friendship in either friendship context. Girls apparently do not share personal feelings and self-doubts as part of any of their characteristic relationships with their boy friends. This contrasts very much to the way males talk about their romantic relationships with girls. Males do not share feelings with other males although they do with their girl friends; girls share feelings with other girls whom they see as particularly knowledgeable but do not with their boy friends. The common element that seems to explain when sharing feelings is a characteristic part of a college friendship is whether or not the friend is a girl.

The third similarity is seen in the fact that both friendship contexts include an instrumental relationship where the friend helps with studies but apparently has little other meaning (IV). This contrasts with the study-date in cross-sex relationships that males form and the big-sister relationship girls form with other girls, both of which seem to combine something social with studying. Particularly interesting is the fact that girls date males whose meaning is restricted to helping them academically while the males' girl friends who serve this function are girls they also date in other settings as well. The female pattern seems much more instrumental.

Finally, a fourth factor in this analysis of girls' cross-sex relationships bears certain similarities to the males' ego-enhancing relationships with certain of their girlfriends. The girls, too, are attracted to boyfriends because they admire them, which adds to their self-confidence. But, this factor also includes the idea that the boyfriend is also likeable apart from his effect on the girls' ego (III).

TABLE V-5

Factor Loadings After Rotation: Cross-Sex Romantic Friendships, Respondent Female Only

Friendship Item	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV	Factor V	h^2
A. This friend helps me with my studies	-.04	-.15	.11	.04	.85	.76
B. This friend broadens my social life--helps me meet other people, helps me get dates	.02	.08	.01	.83	.17	.73
C. My relationship with this friend is easy, relaxing, "comfortable"	.11	.55	.48	.26	.01	.62
D. This friend is someone I share my deepest personal feelings with--my confusions and self-doubts	.34	.15	.05	.42	-.19	.35
E. I have stimulating talks with this friend--intellectual exchanges, exchange of ideas	.66	.25	-.01	-.07	-.04	.51
F. This friend and I share a lot of activity interests--we like doing the same kinds of things	.01	.77	.03	-.03	-.03	.60
G. This friend and I have similar values about things--I get support for some of my basic values from this friend	.50	.20	.40	-.11	-.26	.53
H. This friend admires me, looks up to me--this gives me self-confidence, it's good for my ego	.06	-.39	.73	.16	-.04	.72
I. This friend is just a very likeable person	-.07	.14	.74	-.14	.22	.63
J. This friend is someone I look to and learn from with respect to ideas or ways of looking at things	.84	-.10	-.04	.17	.12	.77
K. This friend likes me--the good feeling I get from feeling liked	.30	.27	.08	-.50	.39	.57
L. This friend is knowledgeable--has a lot of information that has helped me with decisions	.23	.56	-.11	.07	-.14	.40
Factor Contributions	1.68	1.61	1.51	1.28	1.10	= 7.19

In contrast, every item that loads on the ego-enhancement factor in the male cross-sex analysis refers to what the girl does for him -- admires him, enhances his ego, likes him, supports his basic values. The ego-enhancement that dominates some of the males' romantic involvements is much purer, or perhaps it is just easier for males to admit to having all of these self-concerns to the exclusion of any concern about the girl herself.

Some aspects of the differences between the ways in which boys and girls structure their romantic relationships highlight the influence of sex-role expectations. Girls and boys have very instrumental involvements with the people they date but the kind of instrumentality follows sex-role expectations. Girls admit to "using" their boy friends strictly for academic assistance, while males admit to "using" their girl friends strictly for ego-enhancement and support. In contrast, when males talk about studying with a girl friend, they do so in the context of the girl having other meanings to them as well; the girl isn't someone they use for academic expertise alone. And, when girls talk about being admired by their boy friends, they couple this with talking about how attractive and likeable he is as a person; he isn't someone they use simply because he builds their self-confidence and is supportive. We see here an implicit acceptance on both their parts of sex-role prescriptions. It is acceptable, if not desirable, for a male to be used as an expert and a female to be used to give emotional support, while the reverse pattern is undesirable, if not intolerable.

Summary

One issue of interest to us in analyzing student friendships is how well their patterns of relationships seem to fit the conceptual distinctions that both have emerged from and are most frequently applied to experimental studies of social influence. Just because these distinctions, particularly those between affective and cognitive aspects of relationships, are adequate for the laboratory does not mean they will do justice to the more complex friendships formed in a natural setting. We suspect that bases of attraction can be manipulated in a laboratory so as to isolate elements of relationships which in real life are inextricably bound together. What have we seen in our own results that bears on the interrelationships of value-support, emotionality, and cognitive concerns in college friendships?

First of all, how these different aspects of friendships relate to each other depends very much on the sex of the two friends. Secondly, the meaning of value-support, emotional openness, and expert-based relationships varies so that, for example, in some friendships value-support is just another aspect of ego-enhancement, the friend admiring the student and his values, while in others it suggests a more central focus on intellectuality in the friendship. To highlight these complexities, we can follow through what these three elements do seem to mean in male and female cross-sexed as well as like-sexed friendships.

Value-support. In none of these friendship settings is value-support closely tied to affectivity in the relationship, as would be suggested by Kelman's discussion of identification. When the friend is a male (male's like-sex and girl's cross-sex friendships), attraction because of value similarity and gaining support for one's basic values are part of a broader focus on content and seeing the male friend as a model, a kind of broad expert about ways of living and about ideas. So we see here the combination of the value-support aspect of identification and the cognitive aspect of internalization, as they are discussed by Kelman. When girls have friendships with other girls, value-support is embedded in a kind of verbal relationship where they talk about ideas and values, but definitely do not talk about personal feelings. Finally, value-support means receiving the broad admiration of the girl when it emerges in male's romantic friendships. It is part of a friendship where the girl gives him self-confidence, admires him, provides the good feeling that comes from being liked, and validates that his basic values are to be admired.

Expert and Cognitive Aspects of Friendship. Generally we do find, as all of the writers on bases of attraction or power suggest, that students isolate which friends they look to for help and as models because of their broad expertness, from the friendships where emotionality and sharing of personal feelings are important. But, there is one friendship context where cognitive and affective elements are merged instead of separated. When girls look to their girl friends as knowledgeable and as models for themselves, they are also likely to use the friendship as a medium for self-exploration and sharing feelings, and to develop strong emotional ties to the friend. Still, it is true that in cross-sex friendships girls do separate cognitive and affective aspects of friendship just as males seem to do in their friendships with both other males and with their girl friends.

While these results generally support the distinctions in the social influence literature, we nevertheless see certain complexities within expert-based relationships that develop in the natural world but are not necessarily important in the laboratory setting. In all the subsample analyses we find two kinds of expertness which are reflected in different friendships: one, a generalized expertise in which the friend represents knowledge and experience of a broad sort, and, the other a much more restricted kind of expertise that comes when a friend is seen as knowledgeable about a particular subject matter. This more restricted academic expertise is sometimes found in friends who also have some social meaning, as is the case for males in what we might think of as study-dates and for girls with "big sister" relationships where the girl friend also helps her socially. Yet, sometimes, the friend who is an academic expert stands for that, and apparently nothing else. When that happens, the attraction hardly carries meaning implied for expertise-credibility in the social influence literature; instead, it appears to be just another example of a limited, instrumental relationship that could hardly result in the pervasive influence effects attributed to credibility power. In natural settings this distinction between generalized and specific kinds of expertness probably always needs to be made, while the laboratory studies generally have manipulated expertness so as to create the more generalized expertise.

Affectivity. Our results deviate from expectations about emotional aspects of influence relationships in two ways. First, affectivity is never combined with value-support in either men's or women's relationships.

This means the two aspects that Kelman suggests together comprise identification ties are not associated in these real-life friendships. Each is involved in college friendships _but not in the same friendship_. Second, affectivity is separated from all characteristic types of relationships that men form with each other and that women form with their boyfriends. We do not mean that emotionality plays no part in such friendships. But when it does, it is an emotional relationship and that is all. _It is only when the friend is female_ that affectivity is embedded in relationships that also involve other important elements and gratifications. In female-female friendships affectivity is merged with cognitive themes in a broad expert but still emotional relationship. This comes the closest to any pattern we have found to the meaning Kelman gives to identification, although it still does not include the value-support aspects of identification. In males' relationships with their girl friends emotionality is part of a deep pattern of communication where both ideas and personal feelings are shared. To make this as sharp as we can, these results strongly follow conventional expectations of men and women. Women can be emotional with other women without that threatening other meanings the friendship might have, while their emotional relationships with men, at the age before marriage, revolve around that to the exclusion of everything else. And the reverse pattern characterizes the friendships college men form. Obviously either the women with whom they share _both_ emotionality and intellectuality are not the same women who deny that the two ever go together in their relationships with men, or, men and women just see the same relationship very differently. Since these are all romantic friendships, most of the explanation probably lies in men and women seeing romantic involvements differently, the men feeling it provides for both intimacy and ideas and the women stressing only the emotional meaning it has. While we would never pretend to possess truth about the matter, these data attest to the strain and difficulty in developing relationships where men and women both feel they stand for the whole person, head and heart, to the other. And that is a lot of what is behind the attraction of counter life styles, encounter groups, and more intimate residential settings on the college campus.

CHAPTER VI

The Study of Student Organizations

by Zelda F. Gamson

Background of the Study of Student Organizations

As we indicated in the preceding chapter, our information on peer relationships was mainly derived from a set of interviews on a sample of "core" respondents, and the peers they identified as their best friends at the University. In addition to questions about the dyadic relationships, both core respondents and their friends were asked to list the larger circles within which they traveled, the interests and activities they shared with these circles, and the placement of their best friends within these friendship circles.

The sense of the University conveyed by this kind of mapping of friendships was of a concatenation of free-floating individuals tied to a few other free-floating individuals who would sometimes coalesce into something called "circles" or "crowds," which might stay together a while, take in new individuals, drop off old ones, or disappear entirely. It was often difficult to see why individuals came together, beyond accidents of proximity, nor was it clear what sustained many of them through time.[1] (Indeed, it seems to be the nature of informal groupings among students at least in the first two years of college, that they be loose, permeable, and independent of more formal, superordinate units within the University). Further, and most significantly as a motivating force for the development of our study of student organizations, it was not easy to see from the study of atomized peer groups how individual students and their friends fit into larger subcultural settings which we knew existed on a campus the size of Michigan.

Although a few of the friendship circles in some sense derived - or at least were connected with - more formally organized parts of the University such as departments, residence units and student organizations, it was not clear precisely in what ways the informal groupings were connected to the formal ones or how each could illuminate the other. We attempted to ascertain broad student subcultures or types through the use of both open-ended and forced-choice items which asked respondents to describe the different kinds of students at the University and, then, to place themselves and their friends in the different subgroups. The open-ended question led us into some aspects of

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[1] T. M. Newcomb (1961), in his study of friendship formation and maintenance in an experimental living unit, found that contiguity determined initial choices of friends but in itself was not enough to sustain friendship over longer periods of time without the support of similar values.

University life which were neglected by the peer-group approach: many students, for example, would describe a certain type of nonconforming subculture with which they themselves felt no affiliation, a subculture that we would not have been likely to pick up from the analysis of existing friendships. But even with the questions directly pointed toward the discovery of new groupings over and above friendship cliques, we felt something was missing. At best, the responses could guide us in certain general directions; more usually, they reflected perceptions about groupings, styles, and values whose ambiguity meant that they could be sliced in many different ways. Some students would operate with an implicit dimension - social status, for example - and divide the student body into "snobs" and "ordinary students" with a number of interesting gradations between the two. Others would choose a familiar conventional basis for classification, such as academic major, or social styles, while many students would use a potpourri of several dimensions at once.

In this situation, we realized that if we were to understand subcultures at the University and their impacts on students, we required an approach that would be more direct than either the mapping of friendship circles or the perceptions of subcultures. Some work along these lines had already been undertaken in the early stages of the study by two participant observers who operated among sororities, fraternities, living units, and student hangouts, but the range of subcultures which could be spanned by techniques of participant observation was limited and the resources required to expand the range of observation would have been tremendous.[2] Beyond these practical problems, it was still an open question whether observation of informal groupings got us any closer to an understanding of wider student subcultures than the earlier peer group or perceptual approaches: the problem still remained of defining their memberships and boundaries.

In the fall of 1965, the year when the first cohort of undergraduates would be followed up for the final time, Zelda Gamson joined the staff of the study. Trained in sociology and having recently completed a dissertation on an experimental college that focused heavily on the structural bases for differentiations among faculty and students, (Gamson, 1966) Dr. Gamson concentrated her efforts on the issue of student subcultures. Since the conception of the broader study saw social interaction variables as focal intervening variables, a systematic investigation of student subcultures was very relevant to this central concern: that is, social interaction variables were framed as both independent variables--with student change as dependent--and as dependent variables--with subcultures as independent. While this was clear, the problem, as we have indicated, was how to define and measure student subcultures. The strategic decision was made, finally, to enter the field via formally organized student groups which were assumed to be representative of broader subcultures. It was recognized that the full flowering of any one subculture might not be caught in the net, nor would all the presumed subcultures in the university student community be represented in a particular selection of student organizations. The approach via formal student groups, however, offered the great advantages of (1) fairly clearly defined membership populations, (2) diversity among groups and, therefore, the opportunity for a sampling of diverse subcultures, (3) a way of objectively measuring variables which we thought to be important in the study of the impact of the university on students. This investigation, then, became a major sub-study within the larger study.[3]

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[2] Walter Wallace (1966) was able to map the "interpersonal environment" at a small midwestern liberal arts college by asking freshmen to indicate on a checklist of all students enrolled in the college those they recognized, whether or not the people recognized were close friends and whether or not the freshmen liked those they recognized. Obviously, this approach was impossible in a school of over 30,000 students. The size of the University also made impossible the mapping of subcultures and the placement of students within them that Newcomb and Flacks were able to accomplish in their study of Bennington College (Newcomb, et al, 1967).

Theoretical Focus of the Study of Student Organizations

As we progressed in our thinking, we came to think of student organizations as important in other ways as well. We came to recognize, more explicitly than we had in the past, that the study of student subgroups would add to our knowledge about the range of conditions under which general propositions relating social interaction variables and student outcomes are valid within different group settings. We came to focus, also, on the different relationships of student organizations to the larger university setting, as they might define and direct the relationships within the groups and the impacts they had on their members. Before proceeding any further into the research design and some of the findings, it is important to understand in more detail the theoretical grounds from which the study of student groups flowed.

As we wished to examine the determinants and consequences of the student experiences in different organizations at the University, it was important that the groups, and the experiences students have in them, be characterized along conceptual dimensions which would permit comparison across groups. In following this line of attack, we realized that it would also permit comparison with students who did not have experience in formal groups at the University, since comparable information on such students was available from the larger study.

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[3] As the study of student organizations developed, its scope exceeded the limits and resources of the original study. Additional funds for data-processing and many of the analyses presented in this chapter were obtained from the National Science Foundation, Grant No. GS-1849.

The specific objectives of the investigation became four-fold:

(A) To understand the nature of certain selected subgroups within the University, the social structural features which distinguish them, their interests and activities, their values and norms, and the relationships among members.

(B) To understand the process of recruitment and selection into the subgroups, the predispositions of the students who enter into them (self-selection) and the relation between the groups' recruitment activities and the students they actually recruit (group selectivity).

(C) To understand the effects of these subgroups on the development and change of students in them, the processes by which they do or do not have effects, and the outcomes they produce.

(D) To understand the functions of and effects on these subgroups in the wider University setting, the extent to which they are integrated into the University, and the ways in which they facilitate, reinforce, or hinder the achievement of different University objectives.

Our objectives, then, faced in two directions: Objectives A, B, and C are concerned with the characteristics, processes, and impacts *within* student subgroups. Objective D relates these characteristics and processes to the larger university setting. In effect, we took up Coleman's (1966) challenge to research on college students and universities: "From the perspective of social action, we are interested in the sources (of youth cultures) as a means of modifying the effects; to know the sources of variation in youth culture without knowing their effects leaves us ignorant of which way to turn; to know the effects of various kinds of cultures without knowing their sources leaves us powerless to act. Thus the study of peer cultures in college must branch in both these directions."

Illustrative Questions, Variables and Hypotheses

In the space we have, we can only present some illustrative questions and hypotheses within each of our objectives as a way of indicating the most significant variables and relationships. Underlying our hypotheses is a theme which should be stated at the outset: we postulate that subgroups develop in ways that are "appropriate" to their position and stance within the larger University, and that they have impacts which reflect their position. Put in another way, subgroups with certain relationships within the University will tend to develop certain kinds of values and relationships among members; these will lead to kinds of outcomes that are appropriate and understandable in terms of their relationship with the University. So, for example, our preliminary data indicate that subgroups with "extremist" interests, values, or behaviors--in a University which many students describe as liberal and moderate--

tend to see themselves as "set against" the predominantly liberal, moderate thrust of the University. They tend to develop strategies of interacting within the University which isolate and protect themselves from the influence of the University. They develop norms and values which rationalize their differences with the University and internal patterns of relationships centered around maintaining their differences. As a consequence, we expect them to be highly selective in their choice of members and to emphasize socialization centered around maintaining their differences. These processes may have the effect, if successful, of insulating group members from those aspects of the University on which they differ and consequently of further isolating and dividing the group from the mainstream of the University.

Objective A: To understand the nature of certain selected subgroups within the University. In part, this objective is descriptive. We are interested in understanding the character and functioning of various selected subgroups at a large, complex university. Beyond this, we are engaged in a comparative study of sub-institutions. The same theoretical dimensions are used to characterize different subgroups, thus permitting comparisons among groups on similar dimensions. This approach enables us to answer questions about the range and differences of subgroups, even within the same nominal type of group. We assume that there are wide differences among, for example, religious organizations; indeed, our use of comparative dimensions allows us to say whether or not there is a type of group conventionally labeled "religious." It may well be that some religious groups share more with political groups or with fraternities than with other religious groups. Selvin and Hagstrom (1966) make a similar point with regard to different residence arrangements. Findikyan and Sells (1966) bring evidence to bear on this question in their study of 60 student organizations.

Hypotheses within Objective A involve relationships among group dimensions. An example of such hypotheses are those involving scope. As defined by Etzioni (1961),scope describes the degree of totality of members' involvement in a group, the number of activities in which members are jointly involved.

Groups can ranged on a continuum from narrow to broad scope. Much of our analysis within Objective C, the impact of the subgroups on their members, makes use of differences among groups in their scope. It is essential, therefore, to find out the relations between scope and other organizational variables. The following hypothesized relations between scope and other variables are examples: Groups with broad scope will (a) actively and directly seek to have an impact on members, (b) use many different sanctions and incentives, (c) show a high frequency of interaction among group members, (d) have high salience (emotional significance) for members, (e) exercise high selectivity both in the selection and expulsion of members, and (f) have high pervasiveness in the norms they set for their members (i.e., they will set norms over a wide range of organizational and extra-organizational activities).

Objective B: To understand the process of recruitment and selection into the subgroup. All groups differentially attract certain people and repel others, either through active recruitment programs or through self-selection by potential members. Beyond this common feature, groups differ in the degree and content of selectivity. In terms of degree of selectivity, we hypothesize that groups with (a) formal recruitment programs, (b) strict criteria for membership, (c) high visibility within the University, and (d) a clear image within the student body will recruit a more homogeneous membership whose interests and values will be more congruent with those of the group than groups with the opposite set of characteristics (no formal recruitment program, loose criteria for membership, low visibility, ambiguous image in the student body).

The relative narrowness of the range of recruits does not determine the content of selectivity. Whether or not groups recruit members who are, for example, from a particular social class or religious background, or who are oriented toward academic achievement, will depend on the goals, values, programs, and activities of the group.

Objective C: To understand the effects of these subgroups on the development and change of the students in them. There are several impacts groups can have on their members. They can reinforce or accentuate the values or other characteristics that initially brought students to them. They can inculcate new values or other characteristics. They can have no effects,--that is, members are the same on departure as they were on arrival. We assume that all of these impacts require group effort, interaction, and resources, even the impact of "no effect." To the extent that groups recruit members who initially share their values and interests--groups with high selectivity--we expect little inculcation of new values and interests. These groups, we expect, will either have no effects or will accentuate those characteristics which brought members to them initially.[4]

There are many kinds of changes groups can produce in their members. They can either change students in directions which support the goals of the university or in directions which undermine these goals. They can change students in values, interests, skills, or motivations. We distinguish in our analysis among the content, the range, and the degree of change, since we hypothesize that different independent variables will be related to each of these ways of looking at change.

The content of the changes in members refers to particular values, interests, skills, or motivations affected. These depend on (a) the groups' goals, particularly the content of the socialization goals, (b) the group's norms, and (c) members' entering characteristics.

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[4] This discussion is indebted to Feldman and Newcomb's 1969 careful analytic review of college impact studies. See also Huntley (1965) and Hall (1951).

The range of changes produced in members refers to the number of different values, interests, skills, or motivations affected by the group. Some groups have an impact on skills, but not on values, or vice versa; some have an impact on particular values or particular interests. Other groups have effects on a wide range of values, interests, skills, and motivations. We are interested in comparing groups with narrow and broad ranges of impact. We expect that the range of group impact will be related to such variables as scope and pervasiveness of norms.

Degree of change is defined by the differences between initial and later positions on a particular value, belief, interest, skill, or motivation. A high degree of change means that there has been a relatively large movement from initial to later positions; a low degree of change means relatively little movement. Degree and range are independent of each other; groups can have a high degree of impact within a narrow range. Some fraternities change members markedly in modes of dress but have little impact on values and interests (high degree of impact in a narrow range).

Objective D: To understand the functions of these sub-groups in the wider University setting, and the effects of the University on them. Two key questions we ask about subgroups' relationship to the University are the extent to which they differ from certain institutional values and goals (e.g., academic and intellectual values, secularism, moderation in behavior), and the degree to which they communicate with various parts of the University. We can treat these questions as variables with high and low values and generate the following four types of relationships with the University.

TABLE VI-1

Four Types of Subgroup Relationships with the University

Interaction with the University	Difference with University Values and Goals	
	Low	High
High	"Cooperation" A	"Rebellion" B
Low	"Conformity" C	"Withdrawal" D

These four types of relationships with the larger setting lead us to make certain predictions about their functions for and the effects of the University on them. Groups of types A and C will be agents of the University; they will tend to socialize members in ways which promote the goals and values of the University. Groups of these types will be susceptible to influence from the University, although we expect that type A groups will also have some influence on the University in turn. Groups of types B and D, conversely, will tend to socialize members in ways which undermine University goals and values and will be less susceptible to University influence. Type B groups, because of their high interaction with some parts of the University, will challenge the larger institution in the areas of their disagreements. Other things being equal, they will be the major source of innovation from student groups at the University. Type D groups will be isolated enclaves; because they do not interact with the rest of the University, they will perform the function of "draining off" and insulating students who otherwise might challenge or leave the University.

Looking at these kinds of connections groups can have with the larger setting also enables us to relate them to variables within our other research objectives. We stated earlier that the relationships student groups have with the university are intimately related to the structures and relationships that develop internally. Below, in Table VI-2 we present some examples of the ways in which we would predict that group processes and effects would follow from the relationship of the group to the total University.

TABLE VI-2

Types of Relationships with the University Related to Other Group Variables

	Type of Relationship with University			
Illustrative Group Variables	A Cooperation	B Rebellion	C Conformity	D Withdrawal
Degree of recruitment selectivity	Very low	High	Low	Very high
Concern with impact on members	Very low	High	Low	Very high
Salience and solidarity	Very low	High	Low	Very high
Actual impact on members	Variable, some inculcation	Consistent, reinforcement & accentuation	Variable some inculcation	Consistent, reincorcement & accentuation

Theoretical Significance

Two traditions are particularly relevant to our work on student organizations--the social psychological study of influence and the study of complex organizations. We have already noted the place of our study within the social psychological tradition. Its major relevance to the literature on complex organizations lies in our attempt, under Objective D, to do what few studies of subgroups within larger organizations have done: to relate these subgroups to the larger structure of which they are parts. (Blau, 1957; Golembiewski, 1965; Scott, 1965). It is important here to reiterate the distinctiveness of our focus on subgroups. While there have been a number of studies of the impact of the total college on students, rarely has there been an interest in tracing the role of subgroups within any given setting. In their review, Feldman and Newcomb (1969) have found few studies of formal subgroups other than fraternities and sororities. They point out that some studies of the total college impact have found no change among students. Yet, upon closer analysis, it has been found that students in some subgroups do change while others do not. Those who change do so in different and sometimes opposite ways. For example, Nasatir (1965) found little overall change in male students' interest in world affairs after two years at Berkeley. When the total group of students was divided into different residence types, however, Nasatir found that fraternity men changed least while apartment dwellers changed most--with a general trend toward an increase in the level of interest in world affairs.

Other studies which find some effects of the whole college demonstrate that these effects can be shaped and modified in different ways by the subgroup memberships of students. Selvin (1963) compared males' changes in occupational choice in different residence units at Berkeley. Fraternity men, regardless of the level of their fathers' education, were more likely to change in certain ways (from engineering and medicine into law), while men living in other residence settings showed no consistent pattern of change. These differences can be understood in terms of group differences in cohesiveness and common culture. As Selvin puts it, the fraternities say something to their members about an appropriate career; cooperatives, at the other extreme, say nothing to their men about careers.

Within different curricula, Huntley (1965) found that there were different patterns of change on the Allport-Vernon-Lindsey Study of Values. After four years, students at Union College showed little overall change in theoretical, social and political values. This result masked the statistically significant changes in these values, both upwards and downwards, within the curricula subgroups.

On the other hand, Huntley was able to show that curriculum had no effect on economic, aesthetic, and religious values which did, indeed, change in certain directions for the entire group over four years at college.

Thus, some recent studies have begun documenting the significance of University subgroups. However, this focus on subgroups can also be too narrow, neglecting the fact that the impact of subgroups is a function of their relationship to the total institution.

The theoretical framework of our study of student organizations leads us to see the significance of student subgroups in terms of a view of the University as a large-scale organization/community which has, as one of its major goals, the production of certain kinds of changes in its members. Organizations of this type have been labeled variously: "socializing," "normative," "developmental," "people-processing." (Etzioni, 1961; Wheeler, 1966) One of the major problems organizations of this type must face is how to maintain the commitment of the members whom it attempts to influence at a high enough level so that they can be responsive to the institution (Parsons, 1956).

One way of attaining high commitment is to allow into membership status only those who share the values and interests of the organization. But even with high selectivity, organizations must be constantly concerned with the maintenance of the requisite levels and kinds of commitment. In small colleges, particularly the elite colleges, the task is relatively easier than in large universities. Through institutional selectivity or self-selectivity, they are likely to attract students who initially share the college's values and goals. Through contact with and control over student relationships, they can more effectively reinforce and inculcate these values.

In a large, heterogeneous University with lower selectivity, the task is more difficult. It is especially difficult when the University represents values and demands which conflict with the pre-college experiences of some, or a large number, of its students. Thus, the University must face two problems which are less pressing for small colleges. It has less control via admissions policy or clarity of image over the kinds of students who enter and therefore will be dealing with some students who are in conflict with its values and demands. At the same time, it has fewer means available to socialize students. In other words, the University has more problems and less control than the small college.

The question is, then, how a University--with high academic standards and an atmosphere which is liberal, cosmopolitan, and intellectual--can socialize its students at all. The different subgroups at the University can be viewed as providing specialized solutions to the problem of integrating and socializing a large, heterogeneous student body. As we have noted, the "solutions" can be very different. For example, the conflict between some students' religious backgrounds and the University's secularism, or between students' social interests and the University's intellectualism can be handled, in the first case, by religious groups and, in the second case, by fraternities and sororities. These groups may accept the academic demands of the University. At the same time, they allow members to express and handle questions of values, self-definition, and interpersonal development.

For instance Flacks (Newcomb et al, 1967) has found that deviant students at Bennington who became associated with deviant subgroups were less likely to drop out of the college than deviant students who were isolated from such groups. Isolated deviants, however, changed their attitudes more in the direction of college-wide norms than deviants associated with like-minded subgroups. We have found in our own study of University of Michigan students that male students who drop out from the University are more religious than males who do not drop out (Gurin, Newcomb & Cope, 1968). Given the University's secularism--and the frequency with which students mention religious confrontation and challenge in our interviews and questionnaires--we assume that high religiosity, particularly among males, indicates deviance at this particular institution. Therefore, highly religious males have a greater problem of adaptation than their less religious peers. One response to the problem is to leave the institution. Another response is to find like-minded friends and groups. Such an adaptation, we predict, is an alternative to dropping out. Religious students who join conservative religious groups, are, therefore, less likely to leave the University than equally religious students who have not become associated with such groups. On the other hand, highly religious students who are isolated from such groups are more susceptible to University influence and if they remain, are more likely to question and renounce some of their religious beliefs.

Some student groups may disagree with almost everything the University stands for, including its right to make academic demands. In most cases, such groups become isolated, encapsulated enclaves of little consequence to the functioning of the institution. However, in some cases, encapsulation does not follow, and these divergent subgroups come to challenge the University. Leftist political groups are recent examples; right-wing groups have been challengers in the past.

To summarize our argument: the large University makes academic demands and has a certain character which conflicts with the interests and values of some of its students. Large universities have weak power to socialize students. Student subgroups have socialization functions which in some cases support the University, in some cases oppose the University, and in other cases are neutral.

Particularly crucial are subgroups which focus on central identity issues for college students. In our study of student organizations we chose to study three areas which are of great concern to students--religious beliefs, political values, and interpersonal development. We have selected different groups which focus on each of these questions because we expect to find that they provide different answers to their members and different symbols to non-members. We expect that they will have different impacts and functions within the University.

Integrating the Social Psychological and Complex Organization Frameworks

Our point of departure is one that assumes the interplay of psychological and sociological factors. Thus, the solutions to certain organizational problems, as viewed in the previous section, can be seen as solutions to individual problems. The student coming to a large, complex

University is faced with the problem of integrating what he was before with what he experiences at the University. For some students, conflict is vivid and painful; for others, the problem is simply one of adding later experiences onto what is essentially a consistent core of values, skills, and interests. In other words, students differ in the degree of actual conflict between pre-college and in-college experiences. They also differ in the areas in which their pre-college experiences may conflict with college experiences. For some students, religion is a dominant area of conflict; for others, it is politics or social life.

The different subgroups at a University can be viewed from the perspective of the individual, as providing solutions to these problems facing students. In a general sense, they can provide a "home" for the student lost in an overwhelming maze of choices. For some students, association with a group--any group--serves the purpose. But most people and groups carve out selected interest areas. Groups differ also in the answers they offer to members. Some require or encourage students to drop their old values and interests; others allow students to keep many of their initial values and interests. Some groups admit and seek students who already share their interests; others actively seek to proselytize and convert those who do not initially share their interests.

The terms we use to describe subgroups' meaning for members are similar to those we used earlier to describe their meaning in the University setting. This is done deliberately, for we seek to examine group dimensions which are relevant to both points of view. Indeed, we see the impact on members and the impact within the University as intimately connected.

We noted in our analysis of seniors' attitudes toward the proposal of a small residential college at the University of Michigan (which began operating in the fall of 1967, after most of the students in our study had graduated) that students whose friends belonged to the group to which they had a major commitment were less likely to feel they would have wanted to be in such a small college than did students who did not have such integrated friendship-group associations during their college years.[5] In just the sense used in our preceding discussion, student organizations embedded in such a way in the lives of students provide a "home," a base within the large University which perform many of the functions that were to be achieved by a small residential unit.

Selection of the Student Organizations

At the time we began, there were close to two hundred student organizations at the University of Michigan which were recognized by the University of Michigan's Office of Student Affairs. Although the total pool of groups shifts from year to year, and even within years, most student organizations register with the Office of Student Affairs for access to meeting rooms and other amenities. Moreover, the majority of these student organizations (particularly the types of organizations we were to choose eventually) have a long life. Our first act was to get a list of student organizations from the Office of Student Affairs. The diversity of types was striking: academic clubs, nationality groups, clubs for any imaginable hobby, arts and performance groups, honor and recognition societies, every shade of political and religious group, fraternities, sororities, governing councils, and the like. We were not interested in taking a sampling of these groups. Our choice of the twenty-nine groups was deliberate rather than random. We wanted to choose student organizations which focused in different ways on major concerns of students. We therefore chose to study religious groups because students in our larger study frequently mentioned religious challenge and confrontation at the University. We chose political groups because they play an important part in the life at the University and represent another major area of challenge to students. We chose fraternities and sororities because they provide solutions to students' concerns about interpersonal relationships and styles of life.

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[5] See Chapter II, Table II-22.

Having made the decision to select these four types of groups, we were still faced with deciding which ones among the various organizations within each type to select. The following pages describe the steps we followed to make the selection, an enterprise which became a study in itself.

Selection of the Fraternities and Sororities

We asked students in our larger study in the spring of 1964 (when they were second semester freshmen and sophomores) specifically about experiences and intentions regarding fraternities and sororities (Table VI-3). In addition to the one-third who were members or pledges, an additional 22 percent had rushed but for various reasons had dropped out along the way and another 13 percent intended to rush in the future. Thus, only one-third of our sample either had not rushed or did not intend to rush sometime in the future.

TABLE VI-3

Relation to Fraternities and Sororities, Freshmen and Sophomores, Spring 1964

Never rushed		33%
Intend to rush in the future		13
Rushed but dropped out before final bids	22%	12
Rushed and received a bid but did not pledge		4
Rushed and didn't receive a bid		4
Rushed and pledged but later depledged		2
Rushed and pledged; still a member		32
Total		100%
N		= 1,089

These figures just for freshmen and sophomores in the College of Literature, Science and The Arts exaggerate the proportion of the undergraduate student body connected with fraternities and sororities in the fall of 1964, since the 1964 questionnaire and interview administration did not include upperclassmen and pre-professional students, who tend to be less involved in the Greek system. They are certainly greater than the proportions of affiliated students in subsequent years, when the fraternity and sorority system lost its hegemony on the Michigan undergraduate scene (Table VI-4)

TABLE VI-4

Proportion of Undergraduates in Fraternities, and Sororities, 1964-1968[1]

	Fall 1964	Fall 1965	Fall 1966	Fall 1967	Fall 1968
Fraternities	17%	16%	16%	15%	14%
Sororities	18%	16%	16%	15%	14%
Total Undergraduate Enrollment[2]	16,514	17,488	18,255	19,332	19,841

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[1] Source: University Housing Office.

[2] Ann Arbor campus only. Includes all classes in all undergraduate colleges.

Simply in terms of the large numbers of students involved in the Greek system, we were committed to including fraternities and sororities in our roster of student organizations. We assumed that there was a range among fraternities and sororities in terms of prestige, size, dominant style and culture, openness and cohesiveness. This assumption was confirmed by the presidents of the Interfraternity Council and the Panhellenic Association and by the four people in the Office of Student Affairs most knowledgeable about student organizations: the Vice-President for Student Affairs, his Director of Student Organizations, and the two people directly in charge of fraternities and sororities. They pointed out that fraternities and sororities had the great advantage from the viewpoint of the researcher of a relatively stable and clearly defined membership, a virtue we increasingly appreciated as we ventured into the tangled affairs of student groups that kept incomplete or obsolete lists, where even the definition of "member" was a matter requiring Talmudic deliberation.

Our next step was to learn enough about sororities and fraternities to be able to group them according to some meaningful criteria. We asked informed observers and participants in the Greek world to generate the bases which were most meaningful in discriminating among the houses. Through conversations with the people in the Office of Student Affairs, Inter-Fraternity Council and Panhellenic, we were able to define the following bases of differentiation: size, social emphasis (parties, dating, etc.), athletic "jock" reputation, involvement in University activities (student government, the Union, the League, Homecoming), academic reputation, "big name" prestige ranking, liberalism and openness to the larger University community, conservatism and isolation from the larger University, "brotherhood" or "sisterhood" emphasis.

At the time we began, there were forty-four fraternities and twenty-three sororities on campus. Armed with the most important differentiating characteristics and the list of fraternities and sororities, we asked six fraternity and six sorority presidents or ex-presidents from a wide diversity of houses (selected for us by our first set of informants) to pick out the four or five houses that best exemplified each characteristic. Almost all of these presidents accepted our list and rarely added other characteristics. The results are shown in Table VI-5.

TABLE VI-5

Inter-Judge Agreement[1] About the Fraternities and Sororities Most Exemplifying Eight Characteristics

	Six Fraternity Presidents	Six Sorority Presidents
"Big Name"	100%	100%
Social	93	75
"Jock"	93	-
Activities	93	70
Liberal, open	74	84
Conservative, closed	67	56
Academic	59	82
"Brotherhood," "sisterhood"	56	56
Average Agreement Over All Characteristics	79	75

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[1] Average percentage of six judges agreeing on the top three houses; in case of ties, each tied group is computed in the average.

Assured by the quite high agreement among these well-informed fraternity and sorority presidents, we chose houses on the basis of the criteria which particularly interested us - social emphasis, "big name," academic, liberal, and conservative - adding differential size and Gentile, Jewish and Black houses into the pool. The houses eventually chosen were intended to represent as diverse a group of fraternities and sororities as could be drawn from the University of Michigan campus, within the constraints set by having to choose no more than ten houses of each, and by the need to secure firm agreement from the various houses to participate in the study. We took the list of twenty groups back to our original informants in the Office of Student Affairs as a final check, and they concurred in our choice. The groups will henceforth be referred to by number (beginning at Number 10 since nine religious and political groups precede them in the total sample) and are listed below with short descriptive phrases based on the presidents' ratings of the characteristics summarized in Table VI-5

Fraternities

Group 10:	One of the eight moderately large fraternities; one of the top fraternities in academic performance; Jewish.
Group 11:	One of the eight moderately large fraternities; one of the leading "big name" houses; strongly social; identified as conservative by four of the six presidents.
Group 12:	One of the nine medium-sized fraternities; not mentioned by any of the presidents as prominent on the eight characteristics; main feature is its nonparticipation in rush.
Group 13:	One of the six smallest houses; not mentioned by the presidents as prominent on the eight characteristics; Black.
Group 14:	One of the thirteen largest houses; high in recent academic performance, though not mentioned in this respect by the presidents; Jewish.
Group 15:	One of the thirteen largest houses; one of the top fraternities in academic performance.
Group 16:	One of the thirteen medium-sized houses; identified as conservative by four of the six presidents.
Group 17:	One of the nine medium-sized houses; not significantly mentioned by the presidents as prominent on the eight characteristics, although three did identify this group as conservative.
Group 18:	One of the thirteen largest houses; identified by four of the six presidents as liberal.
Group 19:	One of the thirteen largest houses; one of the leading "big name" fraternities; strongly social; identified by four of the six presidents as liberal; Jewish.

Sororities

Group 20: One of the nine largest sororities; strongly social; Jewish.

Group 21: One of the six medium-sized sororities; not significantly mentioned by the presidents as prominent on the seven characteristics.

Group 22: One of the six small sororities; not significantly mentioned by the presidents as prominent on the seven characteristics; Black.

Group 23: One of the nine largest sororities; not significantly mentioned by the presidents as prominent on the seven characteristics.

Group 24: One of the nine largest sororities; one of the leading "big name" sororities; strongly social; Jewish.

Group 25: One of the six medium-sized sororities; one of the leading "big name" sororities; strongly social.

Group 26: One of the nine largest sororities; one of the leading "big name" sororities; strongly social; identified as liberal by five of the six presidents.

Group 27: One of the six smallest sororities; strongly academic; Jewish.

Group 28: One of the nine largest sororities; strongly academic; identified as liberal by five of the six presidents.

Group 29: One of the nine largest sororities; identified as conservative by four of the six presidents.

Selection of the Religious Organizations

At the time we began our study, there were some 25 religious groups listed with the University's Office of Religious Affairs. Some were student fellowships sheltered by local churches. Others were local affiliates of national student religious organizations; a few were autonomous locals unconnected either with a specific church (although they were usually denominationally identified) or with a national organization. Our first step in working through this maze of groups was to speak with officials in the Office of Religious Affairs and with various campus ministers. Although the Office of Religious Affairs has emphasized the integration of student religious groups into the larger University environment and has taken on an intellectual, liberal, non-evangelistic view of the role of religion in the lives of students, not all groups shared these orientations. The year before we began our work, the Office of Religious Affairs conducted a study of religious groups which tried to find out what roles they saw themselves playing in the University community. The following variety of responses turned up, based on interviews with the director or advisor and a student officer from 22 responding groups (Table VI:6).

TABLE VI-6

Self-Perceived Roles Played by Twenty-Two Religious Organizations

Q.1. "Describe briefly the role and function of your religious organization."

Commitment to Jesus Christ and Evangelistic outreach	2 groups
Ministry to people of own denomination	4 groups
Ministry to people of own denomination and ministry to the campus	5 groups
Provide the kind of atmosphere and program where questions could be asked and growth take place	5 groups
Relate religion to the world and its problems	4 groups
International community	1 group
Promote understanding among all religions	1 group

Q.2. "Who decided what the organization, role and function of your religious body should be, i.e., a national body, a local board, the pastor?"

Students on a student committee with the counselor's aid	8 groups
National headquarters, local board, students and staff	5 groups
National body gives advice but students and counselor are fairly autonomous	4 groups
Local board helps students and counselor	3 groups
Counselor, responsible to a local board	1 group
Students	1 group

Q.3. "Is your organization related or actively seeking to be related to people in the University community who are not members of your religious group?"

Yes	13 groups
No	4 groups
Not actively seeking but open	5 groups

Q.4. "Do you see your group as an agent for change in the University?"

Yes	13 groups
No	9 groups

In addition to information from this study, we asked a liberal campus minister and a lay advisor to a very conservative student religious organization to rate student religious organizations on a six-point scale ranging from extremely fundamentalist-conservative to extremely anti-fundamentalist-liberal. Despite the rather basic religious differences between them, these two men agreed exactly in their ratings of 12 out of 17 cases. Of the five disagreements, all were on the same end of the continuum. The distributions are shown in Table VI-7.

TABLE VI-7

Ratings of Seventeen Religious Groups on Degree of Fundamentalism by Two Informants

Total Agreement

Extremely fundamentalist	2 groups
Very fundamentalist	4 groups
Somewhat fundamentalist	3 groups
Somewhat anti-fundamentalist	1 group
Very anti-fundamentalist	1 group
Extremely anti-fundamentalist	1 group

Partial Agreement

Informant 1:	Very fundamentalist	
Informant 2:	Somewhat fundamentalist	1 group
Informant 1:	Somewhat anti-fundamentalist	
Informant 2:	Very anti-fundamentalist	1 group
Informant 1:	Somewhat anti-fundamentalist	
Informant 2:	Extremely anti-fundamentalist	2 groups
Informant 1:	Very anti-fundamentalist	
Informant 2:	Extremely anti-fundamentalist	1 group
	Total	17 groups

On the basis of these ratings and the self-descriptions of role and function drawn from the Office of Religious Affairs study, we were able to choose five sharply differentiated religious groups, adding diversity in size and structure as bases for selection. The final list of groups, identified by number, is described briefly below:

Group 1: A small group sponsored by a local church; highly integrated into the adult congregation; described as extremely fundamentalist by both informants; sees its role as evangelistic.

Group 2: A large amorphous group sponsored by five churches but with its own independent facility on campus; no clear definition of membership; described as extremely anti-fundamentalist by both informants; sees its role as relating religion to the world and its problems.

Group 3: A large chapter of a national religious organization for students; no church affiliation; described as fundamentalist by one informant, somewhat fundamentalist by the other; sees its role as evangelistic.

Group 4: A large group connected to the campus church of a major denomination; membership is automatic for any student who identifies himself as a member of the denomination; described as very fundamentalist by both informants; sees its role as ministering to the needs of the people in its own denomination.

Group 5: A medium-sized group sponsored by a local church of major denomination; somewhat separate from the adult congregation; described as very anti-fundamentalist by one informant, as only somewhat anti-fundamentalist by the other; sees its role as ministering both to its own denomination and to the campus more widely.

Two excerpts from interviews with the student president of Group 1 and the minister-advisor to Group 2 convey a sense of the vast gulf that lies between two groups on the same university campus; they are from (and in) different worlds.

Interview with George Chalmers, president of Group 1

Members of Group 1 are recruited primarily through personal invitation. Although occasionally general announcement in the Daily of activities are made, these are usually unsuccessful in attracting new members. Sometimes members canvass the neighborhoods in Ann Arbor in search of potential recruits. Apparently, anyone who comes to meetings once or twice is subject to a great deal of pressure to join the group; George and other officers make personal visits to their homes to try to make friends with them and to persuade them to join; even we were not immune from these. Several days after the interview we both received from George a short note along with a booklet on Christianity. The great majority of new members are recruited from the freshman class and, after the first few weeks of school, the turnover is very small. Most of the students who join as freshmen remain members for their four years in college. There are many engineering students. Members usually come from a very conservative religious background and George classified them into two types: (1) those who want to escape from the University, who feel their beliefs are attacked by professors and other students and who want warm fellowship and support and (2) those who are thoughtful of the criticism of their faith and are seeking answers to their questions. George himself belonged to a Baptist church at home and came to the church here upon the suggestion of his home minister. Although the teachings of the church were slightly different from those of his home church, he felt that it would satisfy his needs. He wanted to find, first of all, a church with devout beliefs for he has found, from past experiences, that it is in such a group that people get together most often to discuss their beliefs. He also wanted to join a group in which the people were concerned about meeting the community and one in which all members participate.

George sees this group as being very conservative and existing in spite of a very liberal University. The group makes little attempt to integrate the student into the University; rather it isolates and protects him from the liberalizing atmosphere and enables him to keep his faith. George did not feel that the atmosphere of the University was hostile, although he found, especially in his English course, that he was "a minority of one" because of his views. He finds that it is particular individuals, not the University, who show hostility to him because of his beliefs. He feels that many students do not know enough about religion and are not willing to investigate the possibilities that it may offer them. George was somewhat concerned about the image that his church has among the students. "We hear the label 'fundamentalists' tossed at us" and he feels that many people do not know what this term means. Many students think that a fundamentalist is one who is overenthusiastic about religion without knowing why. They also feel that a fundamentalist is very rigid in his beliefs, does not consider other interpretations, never changes and completely ignores the realities of the world. In George's view, a fundamentalist is one who believes in a fairly literal interpretation of the Bible, but does leave room for other interpretations. In general, the doctrine of the church is ill appreciated among members of the student body, so the group draws a fair number of students who feel persecuted. He feels that his group is moderately successful and realistic in helping them solve their problems.

Interview with Reverend Fred Williams, advisor to Group 2

This group presents a unique problem to us in terms of its membership. As Williams said, the popular saying is "There is no (Group 2) and we are its membership." Actually, there is no core of membership as such. Group 2 sponsors a week-long program, and their big events are luncheons to which they invite guest speakers. The average attendance ranged from 35-55 at these, and there have never been fewer than 18 people. However, one of the group's problems is that there is little overlap among the people who come to the different activities; the students come to hear whoever they are interested in, and Reverend Williams accounts for the lack of core membership in terms of the pressures of the trimester and the movement away from "groupness." There is a council, consisting of several students who share in the administrative work and program planning. The members of the council have been elected in the past, but Williams feels that this is an inappropriate method because of the lack in overlap of attendance from meeting to meeting.

In an attempt to attract members, they send mail to all those whose names they receive from registration. However, there is very little response from these people. The active mailing list, which numbers in the hundreds, is far more important in raising attendance at meetings. Anyone who walks through the door is put on the mailing list if his name is known, and hundreds of people walk through the door every month, for one reason or another. Despite the fact that Group 2 is sponsored by five different churches, only 10% of the students who come are affiliated with these denominations. The other 90% are non-church related students, and a large number of them are Jews. Both graduates and undergraduates attend group activities, a mixture which pleases Williams. He also mentioned, "We don't hang on to many freshmen, but the ones who stay are the ones who are on the dean's list." A special effort is made to attract foreign students. An attempt was also made to attract engineers, but this was completely unsuccessful. When Williams first came, seven out of ten members were engineers, but now none at all attend.

In reply to the question, "What are you trying to do?" Rev. Williams said, "The campus is an intellectual community, and any group which wants to be integral to the life of the community should have the same flavor." The group is concerned with the intellectual development of students as well as their emotional growth. Williams does not draw a line between the religious and the secular; he is not afraid of the secular, but rather is very involved with the world. He feels that the sacred is implicit in the secular, and that this is the way God, "if there is one", wants it to be.

Selection of the Political Organizations

The task of selecting political groups was straightforward. When we began our work in the fall of 1965, there were twelve permanent or ad hoc political action or political discussion groups listed with the Office of Student Affairs. Membership overlapped in some of these groups--some members of the local chapter of SDS, for instance, also belonged to the University of Michigan Student Employees' Union. We wanted to avoid selecting groups whose membership overlapped to any significant degree, since our aim again was a diversity among the political groups. We also wanted groups that were permanent and had some history on the campus. Our choice was pretty well determined by the groups which met these exigencies. These are:

Group 6: a large, leftwing chapter of a national student organization unconnected with either major political party.

Group 7: a small, rightwing chapter of a national student organization unconnected with either major political party.

Group 8: a large, liberal chapter of a national student organization connected with one of the major political parties.

Group 9: a large, moderate chapter of a national student organization connected with one of the major political parties.

Initial Contacts and Data Collection

Our first contacts with the groups directly, once we had selected the ones we wanted and gained a sense of their disposition to participate, were with the president and/or officers of each of the twenty-nine groups. In these early conversations we described the goals of the study, emphasized the contribution knowledge gained from the study could make to the groups themselves, and strongly urged the full participation of group members in answering the questionnaire which would be administered or mailed in the near future. With the consent of the officers, we visited each group at the earliest date to describe the study and to enlist the participation of the membership. Our greatest initial cooperation came from the religious groups. Political groups, especially the two non-party ones, gave us the most difficulties--a response, we believe, that reflected their political ideologies. We were asked questions about the funding of the project, what the "real" reasons for the study were, what the group would be getting out of participation. After several approaches, these groups did agree to participate on an individual-choice basis, but we never achieved the degree of cooperation from them that we did from many of the other student organizations.

A few of the fraternities and sororities were also unenthusiastic at the beginning because of apathy or over-exposure to researchers, but we found that later participation rates were not predictable from first reactions, whether favorable or unfavorable. One fraternity, Group 19, received two presentations we made at the house with keen interest but the group overall ended up with one of the lowest return rates. Another house which had begun most unfavorably came through with a respectable return.

Having secured the agreement of the groups, we sat down with the president or membership chairman of each group to secure an up-to-date membership list of people who had participated to varying degrees in the group during the academic year 1965-1966. For the fraternities and sororities, this presented no problem. Members are clearly defined by the Greek system as anyone who has rushed, pledged, been initiated, and has not depledged; it includes people who may not live in the house; it excludes pledges who have not yet been initiated into full membership (pledges were defined as "new members" in the fall 1966 continuation of the research, described below).

We had our greatest difficulty with the four political groups and with two of the religious groups. Group 2, as we have indicated already, is not a real membership organization; people participate in discussions and activities sponsored by the group, and it is often a matter of chance whether they "sign up" with Group 2. There are officers and an active minister-advisor who form the steering committee, and it was these people whom we asked to define a "membership list" for the purposes of the study. They were able to do this without much trouble by turning to recent sign-up sheets or through their personal acquaintance with individuals who turned out fairly often to group functions. In asking them to draw up the list, we emphasized that we wanted a range of people in terms of degree of participation, and we went over the final list with them to make sure they were not missing those who had signed some list only once during the year. We succeeded in getting a diversity of participation, at least among those who had come to some group activity and signed up or were visible to the steering committee; we do not, of course, know anything about those who were invisible.

We proceeded in the same manner with Group 4 which, in principle, defined as "members" all adherents of the particular denomination with which the group is associated. Here, the problem was less difficult than it was with Group 2, since Group 4 does have general meetings regularly and keeps track of who comes to these meetings. It was the latter, not the larger pool of adherents, who we took to be eligible for the study.

Although the political groups have a floating population of members, they do keep a relatively accurate and up-to-date list of participants for their own purposes. We were given access to these lists, emphasizing as we did with all the groups that we wanted the names of marginal participants as well as central ones. In some cases, names of people who had not participated recently were picked up but, generally, the political groups came through with accurate lists of members who participated in varying degrees during the year.

Questionnaires were distributed at the end of the spring 1966 trimester and then at the beginning of the fall 1966 trimester. The questionnaires were in two parts: a "group" questionnaire which focused on the respondents' recruitment to, participation in, and perceptions of the groups; and a "background" questionnaire which directly paralleled the senior questionnaire from the broader study, with questions on experiences within the university, values, attitudes, friendships, biographical information, and so on. At this time, and throughout the administration period, we also conducted "informant" interviews with at least two active members and current or past officers of most of the groups. These interviews, all of which were tape-recorded, enabled us to get a "feel" for the groups which would enhance the analysis of the questionnaire data, as well as to zero in on questions pertinent to each group which could not be asked in the questionnaires. We knew, for instance, that some organizations had recently undergone serious factional conflicts or had changed the directions of their programs and we could question informants about such matters in great detail.

Administration of the Questionnaires

Letters were sent to all people (some 2,000) listed as members of the twenty-nine groups early in March, 1966, inviting them to either come to the Institute for Social Research on designated days to fill out the questionnaire or to return the questionnaire by mail.

The overall return rate for the Spring, 1966, administration was thirty-three percent. The rates for the four different types of groups were as follows:

Religious groups:	35%
Political groups:	21%
Fraternities:	27%
Sororities:	44%

Over the summer, we devised various ways to improve the return rates: first, we shortened the questionnaires by about a third, dropping questions from the first form that were least essential to the purposes of the study. Second, we were ready to go back to the groups at the very beginning of the term to re-administer the questionnaires as soon as the groups had gotten underway. Third, we tried to set up times when we could get members to fill out the questionnaires at their own group meetings. Through all these means, we were able to raise the response rate considerably.

The final return rate after this second round was 47%. This rate was raised to 64% by a very short form of the questionnaire (the "short-form" questionnaire) which was sent after several reminder letters had produced no further returns. In evaluating the adequacy of this return rate,it should be kept in mind that our definition of membership included many people only marginally connected with the group.

We were able to locate 960 new members (in the case of fraternities and sororities, these were pledges of the previous spring who had just been or would soon be initiated) who had just begun participating in the

TABLE VI-8

Return Rates and N's for Each Group in the Student Organization Study

	Total Membership List	Overall Return Rate	N Old Members with full questionnaire	N Old Members with short-form	N New Members with full questionnaire	N New Members with short-form	Total working N
Religious Groups							
Group 1	66	65%	22	8	6	7	43
Group 2	184	43%	35	18	15	12	80
Group 3	148	86%	70	18	29	10	127
Group 4	220	58%	49	42	25	12	128
Group 5	139	81%	43	20	40	10	113
Political Groups							
Group 6	238	39%	28	25	24	17	94
Group 7	51	69%	15	2	10	8	35
Group 8	222	53%	46	37	22	13	118
Group 9	193	56%	31	32	15	31	109
Fraternities							
Group 10	72	67%	20	11	13	4	48
Group 11	68	35%	15	5	2	2	24
Group 12	63	79%	30	3	17	0	50
Group 13	14	71%	6	1	3	0	10
Group 14	76	70%	37	9	6	1	53
Group 15	92	80%	40	10	22	2	74
Group 16	45	82%	28	2	7	0	37
Group 17	52	65%	25	4	5	0	34
Group 18	87	77%	46	5	14	2	67
Group 19	107	41%	22	19	3	0	44

TABLE VI-8 (cont)

Return Rates and N's for Each Group in the Student Organization Study

	Total Membership List	Overall Return Rate	N Old Members with full questionnaire	N Old Members with short-form	N New Members with full questionnaire	N New Members with short-form	Total working N
Sororities							
Group 20	92	71%	42	7	14	2	65
Group 21	82	79%	46	6	11	2	65
Group 22	20	75%	10	0	5	0	15
Group 23	91	76%	31	20	11	7	69
Group 24	88	69%	46	7	3	5	61
Group 25	90	56%	14	12	18	6	50
Group 26	100	63%	42	9	21	1	63
Group 27	76	79%	37	9	9	5	60
Group 28	96	82%	47	6	23	3	79
Group 29	88	84%	37	11	24	2	74
Total	2960	64%	950	358	417	164	1889

groups in the fall of 1966. These students were sent a short group questionnaire and a regular "background" questionnaire; those who did not respond after several reminders were also sent a "short-form" questionnaire. The return rate for new members for the full questionnaire was 48%; with the "short-form", this rate rose to 66%.

Combining old members and new members across all the groups and questionnaire forms yields a final return rate of 64%.[6] The return rates and effective working N for each group are summarized in Table VI-8.

The poor return for religious group 2 and political group 6 are important to keep in mind. Both are liberal to radical politically, and we fear that we were victims of the mistrust and antipathy to any kind of research among such groups, a feeling which is even stronger today. Fraternities 11 and 19, and to a lesser extent, sorority 25, also fall below the average return rate. Overall, however, the fraternities and sororities show a consistently high response--an indication of the clarity of the definition of member and the greater cohesiveness of these groups as compared to the religious and political groups.

Reliability and Bias

We were concerned about the time lag between the spring and fall administrations of the questionnaire, and as a check devised a ten-minute form consisting of a subset of questions from the spring questionnaire which was administered in the fall of 1966 to a sample of students who had completed the full questionnaire the previous spring. Table VI-9 gives the correlation coefficients for the 324 people on whom we have data from both sources.

TABLE VI-9

Correlations Between Spring, 1966 and Fall, 1966 Responses (N=324)

When first associated with group-month	.897
When first associated with group-academic year	.847
Attendance at committee meetings	.598
Attendance at board meetings	.755
Attendance at general meetings	.609
Attendance at social events	.665
Attendance at community service activities	.593

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[6] Some of the non-respondents filled out questionnaires from the larger study. When these people are included, the rate of return rises to 76% for background data.

TABLE VI-9 (cont)

Correlations Between Spring, 1966 and Fall, 1966 Responses (N=324)

Time per week spent on group	.670
Participation in group compared to other groups	.832
Importance of the group	.624
Sense of belonging	.687
R's agreement with group	.562

Eighty-five percent of these respondents intended to participate again in their groups during the academic year 1966-67. The reliabilities of the questions which ask about factual matters--when the respondents first became associated with the group, how their participation in the groups compared with the other groups--are very high. Reliabilities on questions more dependent on current relationships and attitudes toward the groups are somewhat lower, but still significantly greater than chance. Furthermore, reliabilities for most analyses of the data will be even higher, since the variables to be used will be combinations of two or more single items. At least for this group of highly committed members, then, the questions do seem to tap stable facts and attitudes, and it appears that the period between the first administration in March-April and the second administration in October-November did not make a great deal of difference.

Various Ways of Assessing Bias. We were also much concerned about the biases in our sample due to non-respondents--particularly in certain groups--and about the characteristics of those who completed our short-form questionnaire as opposed to the longer forms. Although we have no direct information about non-respondents, we can look at the characteristics of the groups with varying return rates as a way of understanding the forces that might have produced greater cooperation in some groups rather than others. Of course, these group characteristics are based on aggregating the answers given by members who did participate; we cannot know for certain how the group characteristics would have been affected by those who did not answer the questionnaires.

The twenty-nine groups were placed into three categories:

Below Average Return Rate. Those groups with a return rate of 54% or less - i.e., at least 10% below the overall return rate: groups 2, 6, 8, 11, 19, 25.

Average Return Rate. Those groups with a return rate between 55% and 73%, i.e., within 10% of the average return rate: groups 1, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 20, 24, 26.

Above Average Return Rate. Those groups with a return rate of 74% or more, i.e., at least 10% above the overall return rate: groups 3, 5, 12, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22.

We ran these three sets of groups on a number of items and indices from the group questionnaire such as various group interests and values, respondents' own interests and values, description of group atmosphere, amount of socializing, reasons for conforming to the group, group influence, and several different measures of involvement and participation.

The Below Average groups are the most liberal, unconventional and untraditional on every measure; they are most intellectual and political in their interests. These groups are open--so open, it appears, that there is little group pressure or support for much of anything, including the answering of questionnaires. These groups are low in a sense of effectiveness in reaching their goals and weak in loyalty and commitment to other group members, values, and activities. It is therefore, not surprising that we found it difficult to extract cooperation for our study from such loosely organized groups.

The Above Average groups are more conservative in their values and more religious. They are also extremely powerful groups; they command the commitment of their members, offer the most comfortable, affective environment, give members a sense of goal-achievement, exert strong pressure on values but at the same time lead members to feel that they can have an influence on their groups.

The Average groups lie between the other categories in measures of loyalty, commitment, and attraction. They seem to offer less support for adherence to group norms than do the Above Average groups and to rely more on formal, instrumental inducements and constraints. More coherent than the Below Average groups but less cohesive than the Above Average groups, there is enough group pressure to muster a respectable response to our study but not an overwhelming one.

We asked ourselves the further question: are the findings for the Below Average groups descriptive of the groups or are they more descriptive of the members who happened to fill out our questionnaires? If the latter is the case, we are led back to the question of bias--but in a direction that is the opposite of what is usually expected in analysis of bias in survey research. Particularly in questions tapping members' relations to the group--participation rates, length of membership, commitment, attraction, and so on--one would expect to find that respondents in the low return groups would report greater participation and commitment than respondents in the high return groups, since, it would be assumed normally, the least involved members would be under-represented and the most involved over-represented. Instead, we find that the respondents from the low return groups are lowest of all three categories on these measures of involvement and commitment.

Could it be that the bias effects were indeed going in the other direction, that the most active, committed people were least likely to cooperate while the least active people were most likely to respond? We went back to our records, where we had recorded ratings by officers of those members who had been active in the groups in the academic year 1965-1966. In each of the groups with below-average return rates, we computed the proportions of active and inactive members who returned the long form of the questionnaire either in the spring or the fall. (Table VI-10).

TABLE VI-10

Proportions of Active vs. Other Members Returning Long Form in Below-Average Return Rate Groups

	Actives	Others
Group 2	22%	8%
Group 6	4	17
Group 8	32	8
Group 11	14	21
Group 19	17	20
Group 25	25	14

Active members of group 6, the leftwing political group, are under-represented among the respondents. To a lesser extent, groups 11 and 19, both fraternities, work the same way. Thus, we have a clear bias in group 6 toward the over-representation of recent, less active recruits and a similar, though less strong, bias in groups 11 and 19, factors for which we will have to make allowance in our analysis of the separate groups.

Another way to look at bias is to examine the differences among respondents who filled out the various forms of the questionnaire. It is reasonable to expect that "short-form" respondents, as compared to people who filled out the longer questionnaires, would show less involvement, attraction, and commitment to the groups. Differences should be less pronounced among old members who returned long-form questionnaires in the spring and fall. We ran the same items and indices separately for the following groups, (1) old members who answered in the spring of 1966, (2) old members who answered a long form in the fall of 1966, (3) old members who returned a short-form, (4) new members who answered in the fall of 1966, (5) new members who returned a short-form.

Fall respondents are more recent recruits, we discovered, yet on measures of involvement, it does not appear that they are very different from the spring respondents. They report higher rates of participation, view the group as just as important, have as strong a sense of belonging, attraction, commitment, and report as many friends in the group as spring respondents. Fall respondents do, however, feel somewhat less agreement with the beliefs and values of their groups, which may be connected with the fact that they have been exposed for a shorter time to group norms and values.

Spring members do not report significantly more pressure to participate even though, in fact, they participate in group activities to a lesser extent than fall members. Their alacrity in responding to our questionnaire seems to be based on their longer membership in their groups and on their overall sense of agreement with group values. Fall members, however, cannot be described as less committed; rather, they appear to be newer recruits who may not have felt knowledgeable enough to complete the long questionnaire when we first approached them.

The comparison with "short-form" respondents yields about what we initially expected: both sets of short-form respondents, old and new members, participate less than the other response groups, feel least attraction, sense of belonging, and have the fewest friends in their respective organizations. Old member short-form respondents joined their organizations later and had been members longer than the fall old member group. We cannot know with absolute certainty whether these short-form respondents were at one time committed members whose interest in the group waned, or whether they maintained a consistently low level of commitment throughout their association. However, we were able to check on this indirectly by looking at responses to questions about continuous vs. intermittent contact over the years. Both old and new short-form respondents report more intermittent contact with their groups overall. It seems likely, then, that the short-form respondents were marginal members not only at the time we conducted our study but during most of their association.

This is not because they are alienated from their groups: new members who returned the short form feel a higher level of agreement with their groups than do new members who filled out the long form; and old members who filled out the short-form are more in agreement with their groups than are old members who filled out the long forms in the fall (but not more than spring old members). We can pretty well discount, then, ideological difference as a basis for the weak response of the members who returned the short-forms; rather, they seem to be people who, for whatever reason (age or conflicting demands), "associate" with but have not really participated to a great extent throughout their connection with their groups. We view this affirmatively, as broadening the range of the study. This means, however, that we will have only a limited amount of information about the groups from peripheral members and that, in many analyses, most descriptions will come from (and be most applicable to) more centrally involved members--with the exception of group 6, where we have learned the reverse is true.

Selectivity and Homogeneity of Membership

The first question we must ask about the groups in the study is the extent to which their memberships represent a microcosm of the larger student body, or on the other hand, are selective subgroups with special characteristics. We are interested, here, in comparing the groups both with the random sample from the larger study, and with one another on a set of characteristics, values and attitudes which are especially relevant to students' experiences within the University. We expect that, on some of these characteristics, many of the groups will not differ greatly from the general student population while, for others, particularly on those characteristics which are most connected to the groups' missions--for example, religious values of members of religious groups--we will find great disparities. These disparities will begin to illuminate the bases for self-selectivity and selective recruitment into the various organizations (Objective B of this study of student organizations.)

It is crucial that we have a baseline for comparison. Otherwise, we could not know the extent to which any particular group or set of groups deviate from the student population. Data from this analysis are drawn from responses to the Background Questionnaire which used a subset of questions from the questionnaire given to the seniors in the general study. Thus, we are in a position to compare responses from each of the student groups tested in 1966 to the distribution of responses in the combined 1966-1967 senior testing of the larger study. One caveat: It should be recognized that the student groups include students from all class levels, from freshmen to graduate students; the sample from the larger study includes predominantly seniors.

The results of the analysis for a set of important questions common to both the student organization study and the larger study are represented in Table VI-11. The black fraternity (group 13) and the black sorority (Group 22) have been dropped from this analysis because of insufficient N's. The results for the senior sample are given in the last column headed MSS, which refers to the Michigan Student Study.

Family Background Variables

In general, and not surprisingly, members of fraternities and sororities are drawn disproportionately from high status families; this is especially true for the sororities. In the senior sample of the MSS, 54% of the fathers have college degrees or more. All of the sororities, and five of the fraternities, exceed this proportion--in some cases, to a very great extent. Two of the Jewish fraternities (10 and 14) and one atypical fraternity, the scholarship fraternity 12, report educational levels which are lower than the senior sample.

Educational levels are also very high in the right-wing political group 7, and not as high but still greater than the random sample in group 6, the left-wing organization, and in group 2, the liberal religious

TABLE VI-11

Selected Background, Attitudinal and Experience Variables for Members of 27 Student Organizations[1] and Senior Random Sample

	Religious Groups					Political Groups				Fraternities									Sororities									All
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	MSS
FAMILY BACKGROUND																												
Father's Education																												
Less than High School, Some High School	27	11	12	17	14	16	6	17	16	16	8	25	12	12	6	3	9	4	4	5	4	4	4	2	7	3	1	11
High School Graduate	30	15	23	24	20	10	18	16	17	23	13	31	6	15	9	21	19	6	15	17	14	11	2	9	14	11	9	15
Some College	18	17	21	21	16	16	6	20	16	23	25	19	38	9	15	27	18	31	20	12	18	20	17	16	24	13	19	20
College Graduate, Advanced Degree	25	37	44	38	50	58	70	47	51	38	54	25	44	64	70	49	54	59	61	66	64	65	77	73	55	73	71	54
Parental Income																												
Less than $7500	24	11	22	29	15	13	11	14	13	7	4	31	0	10	3	3	8	9	0	2	5	0	4	7	0	6	8	10
$7500-$9999	29	15	20	16	17	14	14	12	14	10	9	33	4	11	10	30	15	4	5	15	2	2	4	2	8	8	6	9
$10,000-$14,999	28	30	30	32	36	23	32	28	26	18	23	26	26	30	10	20	35	13	12	28	31	13	17	18	22	14	40	25
$15,000 or more	19	44	28	23	32	50	43	46	47	65	64	10	70	49	77	47	42	74	83	55	62	85	75	73	70	72	46	56
Father's Political Party																												
Republican	59	35	72	35	65	16	63	18	76	20	74	22	13	58	73	74	56	14	12	69	73	6	76	60	8	62	61	45
Democrat	15	38	14	38	11	61	13	59	6	57	5	56	59	16	9	13	10	58	50	11	7	58	7	7	66	15	15	38
Independent	26	15	14	23	19	16	21	14	14	20	16	15	11	15	12	10	34	17	19	11	11	17	15	13	14	12	17	15
Other	0	12	0	4	5	7	3	9	4	3	5	7	17	11	6	3	0	11	19	9	9	19	2	20	12	11	7	2
Size of Place Grew Up In																												
Suburb or Inner City of 2 million or more	24	35	20	31	20	54	40	40	30	49	12	56	66	21	20	30	20	44	46	21	36	59	27	34	49	31	21	37
Suburb or Inner City 200,000-2 million	22	28	17	26	23	25	25	26	25	40	52	18	24	25	29	27	29	44	45	26	31	29	31	32	30	31	22	27
City 50,000-200,000	12	12	16	14	20	7	9	10	12	7	4	10	8	19	23	6	14	8	4	7	11	7	13	11	5	13	21	13
City 10,000-50,000	7	14	16	17	16	6	17	16	13	4	12	6	2	25	17	11	23	4	5	29	10	5	19	15	12	17	21	12
City Less than 10,000, Rural area	35	11	31	12	21	8	9	8	20	0	20	10	0	10	11	26	14	0	0	17	12	0	10	8	4	8	15	11

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TABLE VI-11 (cont'd)

Selected Background, Attitudinal and Experience Variables for Members of 27 Student Organizations and Senior Random Sample

	Religious Groups					Political Groups				Fraternities									Sororities									All
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	MSS
RELIGION																												
Present Religious Preference																												
Protestant	98	1	97	0	95	15	41	26	75	6	64	28	0	60	64	67	69	0	0	76	67	1	74	60	0	58	69	37
Catholic	0	46	1	98	0	2	18	14	12	0	12	52	0	12	14	12	26	0	1	11	15	0	13	13	0	8	19	12
Jewish	2	15	0	0	0	16	3	38	3	87	4	4	82	1	0	3	1	83	81	2	3	79	2	2	82	6	5	24
None	0	38	2	2	5	67	38	22	10	7	20	16	18	27	22	18	4	17	18	11	15	20	11	25	18	28	7	27
Adhere to Same Religion as Reared In?																												
Yes	93	56	72	93	88	52	65	69	84	93	71	85	93	73	84	83	93	85	100	83	80	98	85	84	91	77	88	71
How Often Attend Religious Services at University?																												
Once a month or more	95	29	98	97	82	5	43	21	57	5	30	59	4	35	20	20	16	2	0	51	65	0	50	42	5	32	65	27
POLITICS																												
Party Identification																												
Republican	45	9	59	22	54	2	71	3	92	10	50	26	6	40	72	61	44	3	10	62	54	6	63	56	4	37	51	31
Democrat	4	36	16	38	15	19	4	81	0	55	6	41	56	21	11	23	20	61	61	13	17	60	13	2	62	19	12	38
Independent	44	37	25	36	26	40	13	4	4	32	38	20	21	28	11	13	36	22	10	16	20	15	20	21	22	30	30	27
Socialist	0	7	0	1	0	25	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	2
Other	7	11	0	3	5	14	12	12	4	3	6	11	17	11	6	3	0	11	19	9	9	19	2	21	12	13	7	2

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TABLE VI-11 (cont'd)

Selected Background, Attitudinal and Experience Variables for Members of 27 Student Organizations and Senior Random Sample

POLITICS (cont.)	Religious Groups					Political Groups				Fraternities									Sororities									All
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	MSS
Importance of National and World Affairs																												
Crucial, Very Important	7	53	8	8	32	73	57	56	44	13	22	24	30	14	6	11	13	21	17	14	8	18	10	12	11	20	7	17
Attitude Toward Government Policy in Vietnam																												
Approve	60	11	49	52	20	0	61	27	31	41	35	63	51	56	27	55	70	35	38	54	41	26	34	35	28	29	53	36
Pro-con	36	19	42	40	50	10	35	36	55	45	65	28	26	30	49	35	23	32	46	34	47	44	48	37	60	42	35	31
Oppose	4	70	9	8	30	90	4	37	14	14	0	9	23	14	24	10	7	33	16	12	12	30	18	28	12	29	12	33
ACADEMIC-INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS																												
Academic Major 2																												
Pre-Med	5	0	4	2	3	0	0	0	0	10	0	3	9	3	0	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Pre-Law	0	3	2	1	1	1	4	13	16	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
Other Pre-Professional	36	18	38	25	34	1	34	7	12	23	17	25	9	27	31	39	45	0	4	29	15	0	5	20	12	11	31	13
Humanities	5	11	10	18	2	10	4	11	6	0	13	5	7	3	16	3	5	14	26	11	16	28	31	22	12	41	19	22
Social Science	0	29	14	20	19	61	23	46	26	31	13	30	59	31	28	16	10	38	25	19	18	34	21	16	24	22	5	30
Science, Math	19	15	10	21	20	7	15	8	11	20	17	20	11	21	9	13	18	5	2	2	11	6	5	4	10	8	13	15
Education	10	5	9	7	10	1	8	6	8	3	0	5	0	2	0	3	0	0	29	29	21	22	20	20	34	11	16	8
Arts	7	7	10	7	7	12	4	2	4	0	13	0	0	2	6	13	6	3	7	9	11	4	10	12	6	6	9	2
Business Administration	5	3	4	1	2	1	7	1	11	10	22	10	2	10	9	10	8	8	0	0	0	0	5	2	2	2	0	4
Currently in Honors Program?																												
Yes	0	15	9	10	9	31	19	26	7	20	0	9	18	6	3	3	2	27	9	0	13	12	3	0	18	14	9	10
Importance of Classroom Work																												
Crucial, Very Important	82	51	64	64	70	55	57	75	63	60	61	72	58	68	67	61	68	74	75	51	74	80	76	59	77	73	84	65

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TABLE VI-11 (cont'd)

Selected Background, Attitudinal and Experience Variables for Members of 27 Student Organizations and Senior Random Sample

	Religious Groups					Political Groups				Fraternities									Sororities									All
ACADEMIC-INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS (Cont.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	MSS
Importance of Individual Study and Research																												
Crucial, Very Important	59	66	49	43	42	50	65	59	54	60	12	50	48	54	52	56	45	50	64	41	51	50	62	60	34	59	43	41
Importance of Knowing Faculty																												
Crucial, Very Important	25	45	16	20	19	39	35	30	20	27	28	28	35	18	15	14	18	26	45	22	27	27	37	29	30	31	26	25
Importance of Intellectual Exchange with Students																												
Crucial, Very Important	68	85	60	68	66	87	70	82	69	57	53	51	56	72	42	46	50	65	89	69	69	84	82	82	66	88	76	65
Importance of the Arts																												
Crucial, Very Important	48	46	33	28	38	40	17	42	19	17	11	13	23	25	27	25	21	41	62	47	55	66	74	49	39	64	62	43
EXTRACURRICULAR INTERESTS AND ACTIVITY																												
Importance of Campus Issues, Student Government																												
Crucial, Very Important	0	15	1	4	12	30	13	20	15	13	11	17	8	18	3	0	5	3	4	8	6	2	8	17	9	16	7	7
Importance of School Spirit Activities																												
Crucial, Very Important	7	4	5	15	26	3	13	13	27	27	28	28	32	33	18	29	31	24	30	43	43	25	28	24	27	12	34	13
Extracurricular Activity																												
Extremely Active	10	6	4	5	1	13	17	14	14	13	11	6	8	19	3	4	7	6	6	6	8	0	6	10	9	7	9	9
Moderately Active	38	40	66	57	41	58	44	47	61	54	72	59	67	49	44	66	68	38	41	41	51	39	41	39	48	42	43	32
Not Active	52	54	30	38	58	29	39	39	25	33	17	35	25	32	53	30	25	56	53	53	41	61	53	51	43	51	48	59

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TABLE VI-11 (cont'd)

Selected Background, Attitudinal and Experience Variables for Members of 27 Student Organizations and Senior Random Sample

	Religious Groups					Political Groups				Fraternities										Sororities									All
EXTRACURRICULAR INTERESTS AND ACTIVITY (cont.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	MSS
Importance of Dating																												
Crucial, Very Important	32	34	17	24	30	20	22	40	29	53	72	61	48	50	49	56	55	47	79	63	63	55	49	54	84	42	45	44
VALUE AND PERSONALITY VARIABLES																												
First Ranked College Goal																												
Marriage, Family	7	0	0	1	1	5	0	1	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	7	7	0	6	4	9	0	9	13	7	0	4	2
Occupation	23	11	9	13	14	5	15	14	17	32	43	16	15	34	25	26	25	25	15	16	15	7	0	13	16	10	18	18
Fun	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	3	2	0	13	4	3	0	4	4	2	3	0	2	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	1
Exploring New Ideas	0	15	10	7	7	21	15	19	12	3	0	10	8	4	7	0	2	15	6	4	17	9	17	5	2	12	0	15
Friendships	4	10	7	4	4	7	0	4	2	3	0	7	15	5	7	11	10	6	17	0	2	9	9	11	10	12	4	7
Finding Myself	4	31	30	45	29	35	30	29	17	45	25	30	36	29	35	19	30	39	44	50	40	48	33	29	44	41	50	31
Thinking Through Values	31	21	35	19	27	17	20	14	29	7	13	10	23	14	7	7	10	6	9	16	4	20	29	18	12	15	12	14
Deep Professional Grasp of a Field	31	12	9	11	15	8	20	16	17	10	6	19	0	14	11	26	14	6	3	8	11	7	3	8	9	10	12	12
Importance of Self-Discovery in College																												
Crucial	25	46	34	38	33	53	39	40	33	23	22	17	40	30	24	7	22	41	59	43	47	61	51	44	52	64	55	39
Perceived Change in Ideas, Beliefs, or Values in College																												
Great Deal	7	40	22	19	21	30	0	23	18	10	17	7	18	19	21	21	11	18	17	14	22	14	23	20	23	29	24	22
Somewhat, a Little	79	55	74	72	77	64	78	71	76	83	77	82	80	79	73	72	87	73	81	82	74	79	72	75	72	71	74	74
Not At All	14	5	4	9	2	6	22	6	6	7	6	11	2	2	6	7	2	9	2	4	4	7	5	5	5	0	2	4

(continued on next page)

TABLE VI-11 (cont'd)

Selected Background, Attitudinal and Experience Variables for Members of 27 Student Organizations and Senior Random Sample

	Religious Groups					Political Groups				Fraternities									Sororities									All
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	MSS
VALUE AND PERSONALITY VARIABLES (cont.)																												
Perceived Change in Self-Definition, Identity in College																												
Great Deal	14	49	26	32	22	44	8	28	12	23	28	20	18	20	21	18	13	24	36	26	35	35	20	15	51	42	21	34
Somewhat, A Little	79	47	69	64	73	56	75	66	80	70	66	67	77	78	79	68	77	70	62	70	65	65	72	73	49	58	79	63
Not At All	7	4	5	4	5	0	17	6	8	7	6	13	5	2	0	14	10	6	2	4	0	0	8	12	0	0	0	3
Disagree with Values of Faculty?																												
Frequently	52	18	24	10	6	36	46	13	20	0	0	5	4	3	9	4	3	5	2	10	7	0	0	12	0	3	12	7
Disagree with Values of Students?																												
Frequently	76	46	54	29	26	75	58	31	20	13	11	16	18	10	21	7	10	21	10	17	17	13	30	14	8	29	19	20
Total N	44	87	127	128	113	106	36	126	111	48	27	51	56	78	37	34	71	53	70	65	76	66	56	67	62	84	76	1424

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[1] Groups 13 and 22 are excluded because of insufficient N's.

[2] Adds up to less than 100% because some scattered majors were excluded.

group. Group 1, the fundamentalist religious organization, reports the lowest proportion--25% of members' fathers have college degrees.

These findings are generally paralleled in the family income data. Sororities, with the exception of group 29, come from families with extremely high incomes: while 55% of the random sample report incomes of $15,000 or more, 85% of sorority 24 and 83% of sorority 20 reach this level. Although the fathers of members of fraternities 10 and 14 are not as well educated as fathers of other fraternity members, their income levels are very high; the reverse is true for fraternities 15 and 18, where the proportions with high education exceed the proportions with the highest incomes. Income levels, like education, remain low in the scholarship fraternity.

Although fathers' education is very high in the right-wing political organization, family incomes are proportionately below the average. This may be an indication of the status inconsistency which some writers have suggested is the source of right-wing politics. The family incomes of members of political and religious groups are not as high, and less homogeneous than the random sample, and more strikingly, than most of the sororities and fraternities. Indeed, 53% of the family incomes in group 1, the fundamentalist group, 44% in group 4, the Catholic group, and 42% in group 3, the evangelical group, are below $10,000 per year--in contrast to 19% in the random sample and a range of 2% to 17% among the sororities.

High socio-economic status, then, is a clear conditioner of membership in most fraternities and sororities, with the exception of the scholarship fraternity and two Jewish fraternities; in the latter case, the fathers make up in income what they lack in education. Relatively low socio-economic status is characteristic of the fundamentalist group and, to a lesser extent, of the evangelical religious group 3 and the Catholic group 4. A disparity between high education and lower income levels is suggested in Group 7, while the remaining religious and political groups fall in the middle and show greater internal variation on the two status measures.

There is also great consistency among the fraternities and sororities on the political party identifications of their fathers. Fathers of students in the Christian groups are overwhelmingly Republican; fathers of members of the Jewish groups, as well as the scholarship fraternity, are strongly Democratic or independent in their political loyalties.

The party preferences of fathers of political group members are clearly in the direction of the values of their children's groups, but the surprising point to note is that there is not more homogeneity. Sixteen percent of the fathers of the left-wing students and 18% of the fathers of the Democratic group members are Republicans, while 13% of the fathers of the right-wing students (but only 6% of the fathers of Republican group members) are Democrats. Indeed, there is more political homogeneity in some of the faternities and sororities. It appears, then, at least for a certain minority of students in groups 6, 7, and 8, membership in those political groups represents some break with the family's political loyalties.

Two of the religious groups--3 and 5--are strongly Republican in background, while there is more of a mix in the other religious groups. Again, it is interesting that the fathers of students in the liberal, ethically-concerned religious group 2 are not highly concentrated in the Democratic party; over one-third are identified with the Republican party. The gap between family and group political orientations would not seem to be as salient for students in this religious group as in the three political groups, yet some students in group 2 from Republican backgrounds must experience a rather dramatic challenge to their received political loyalties. Indeed, as we shall see in a little while, students from Republican families in group 2 defect from the Republican party in greater numbers than do the students from the larger study and most of the other student groups.

The final family background variable in this series is the size of the city or town in which respondents grew up. Here, there are wide variations among fraternities and sororities; groups 12, 14, and 24 have high concentrations of students from cities or suburbs of 2 million or more; group 17 has a large minority of members from small towns.

Members of political group 6 are overwhelmingly from large metropolitan areas and, to a lesser extent, so are members of groups 7 and 8. One is struck, conversely, by the large proportion of small-town students in the two highly conservative religious groups; 36% in group 1 and 30% in group 3 are from towns of less than 10,000. Here is the first bit of evidence for viewing these groups as enclaves protecting their members from the more cosmopolitan influences of the University.

There is no compelling reason to suppose that the concentration of "big city" vs. "small town" students in some of the groups is in itself a basis for selection. A better case can be made for the status and political characteristics of students' families as providing a basis for screening new members. Even with these, however, a more sensible view would be that these background variables are associated with and symbolize other experiences and attitudes that are more directly related to the process of selection into various student groups. A small town, Republican middle class upbringing implies a set of academic, social, and other choices which may be very different from an urban, Democratic middle class upbringing. We turn now to the variables more directly related to the college experience.

Religion

We asked students to indicate their present religious preference and then whether this was the religion in which they had been reared. Twenty-seven percent of the senior sample said they had no religious preference (and 29% said that their own preference was different from their family background), 37% identified themselves as Protestants, 12% as Catholics, and 24% as Jews. Almost all of our groups depart dramatically from this picture. The Christian fraternities and sororities, with the exception of group 12, the scholarship fraternity, are Protestant groups. There is a smattering of Catholics and Jews in these groups, as well as those who no longer identify with a religious group. The Jewish fraternities and sororities have memberships which are even more homogeneous on religion--and their members report very low defections from the family religion, an indication that the religious homogeneity of these groups is maintaining their members' original religious identifications, despite massive pressures on students, especially Jews, to give them up. Only one sorority, group 28, exceeds the average percentage of the random sample reporting no religious preference. (Of course, fraternities and sororities include lower classmen, who would be less likely to report no religion.)

It is astounding to see that only 1% of the members of religious group 2 call themselves Protestants. But almost 40% of the members of group 2 report no religious preference, 44% are apostates from their family religion. The other religious groups are more "successful" in attracting and maintaining a homogeneous religious identification: 98% of group 1, 97% of group 3, 95% of group 5 are Protestants, and 98% of group 4 are Catholics. No member of group 1 says he does not have a religious preference, and tiny percentages in groups 3, 4 and 5 report no preference.

Members of political group 6 on the whole have given up a religious identity: 67% have no preference. Group 7 also has a large proportion of students with no religious preference. Like Group 9, group 7 under-represents Jews and has a large percentage of Protestants. But group 7 differs from group 9 in having more Catholics and in the number having no religious preference. Group 8 over-represents Jews and under-represents Protestants, while the reverse is true for Group 9.

The range in attendance of church services at least once a month is wide indeed. Among fraternities and sororities, it spans from zero to 66%. (Those reporting no attendance at least once a month are both Jewish sororities.) Among political groups, the range is from 5% in group 6 to 57% in group 9. Among religious groups the variation derives from group 2, where only 29% of the members report such frequent attendance, which is just about the average for the MSS seniors. The four other religious groups show overwhelmingly high proportions of members attending religious services on a regular basis.

Politics

Looking at the distributions of students' political party preferences, it is clear again that the Christian fraternities and sororities remain disproportionately Republican and that the Jewish fraternities and sororities continue their fathers' allegiance to the Democratic party. However, it is crucial that, just as students generally are moving away from the Republican party and toward independent voting (the Republican party declines 14% from father to child in the MSS, the Democratic party maintains itself, "independent" and "other" gain 14 percentage points), so do members of the fraternities and sororities. The degree of movement away from father's party preference varies from group to group but, in every case except the scholarship fraternity whose members seem to become more Republican (the conservatizing implications of upward mobility?), the proportion of Republicans declines. Generally, the degree of loss is equal to or a bit lower than the 12% of the random sample, indicating that members of Greek organizations are moving along with the tide toward liberalism in the wider student body, but are neither actively hindered or facilitated by the group. There are two groups, however, which show dramatic shifts away from Republicanism toward independent voting: sorority 28, with a Republican loss of 26% and fraternity 11, with a Republican loss of 24%. The extent of change in these two groups may indicate the operation of group norms in the political area. Whether or not this is the case for these two groups, it is clear that fraternities and sororities are not conservatizing influences, in the political area, as stereotype would have it, but they are not dramatically liberalizing either. Put another way: fraternities and sororities in general, seem to have little unique impact on political attitudes over and above the effects of the University.

Political groups, on the other hand, may have a unique impact. Here, it is important to examine each of the political organizations in some detail. Group 9, drawn overwhelmingly from Republican families but with some Democrats and independents, smoothes these rough edges; 92% of the members report the Republican party as their own party preference. Much the same happens with the other party-oriented group (8); the majority of members are recruited from Democratic families but a large minority are drawn from Republican or independent homes; these latter members, in their own party choices, move en masse to the Democratic party. Group 7, the right-wing organization unaffiliated with one of the major political parties but clearly in closer sympathy with the Republicans, shows some movement toward the Republican party (a gain of 8%) but an even stronger movement toward independent and "other" political choices (the latter would include some version of the organization's conservative ideology). Thus, both groups 7 and 9 are moving against the tide in the University generally, and in a certain sense, have a much more difficult task of influence and maintenance than group 8, which is pushing its members in a direction that is more consistent (i.e., students from Republican homes move into the Democratic party in group 8, where they move into the independent category in the senior group). Group 6 presents an interesting case of movement away from both parties: only 2% of the 16% who say their fathers are Republican identify themselves as Republicans and, even more dramatic, only 19% of the 61% whose fathers are Democrats remain Democrats. A full 80% of the members of group 6 are independents, socialists or subscribe to some other non-traditional political ideology.

Whether one chooses to describe group 6 as pushing at the head of the tide--since after all the student body is moving away from the two parties, though in a less wholesale fashion--or as so far out that the rest of the students will never catch up depends on one's prophetic intuitions. It is not too much to say, however, that group 6 represents the political avant garde of the student body and, clearly, has pervasive impacts on its members' political values.

We should not be surprised to see that the liberal religious group 2 shows a movement away from the Republican party which is more widespread than the MSS group: from 35% Republican fathers, only 9% of the children so identify themselves; Democrats maintain themselves; independents and socialists increase. The other religious groups move about the same degree in the direction that the general student body is moving.

We asked students to indicate the degree of importance to them of national and world affairs. Only the political groups--here group 6 comes out very strongly--and group 2 show great interest. It is interesting that groups 7, 8 and 9 do not show more interest in national and world affairs than they do; only 44% of the members of group 9 say this is a crucial or very important area for them, perhaps because state and local issues hold more interest. Religious group 5 and fraternity 14 have large minorities expressing keen interest in national or world affairs.

Our question on Vietnam came after a year or more of political activity on the campus against the war in Vietnam. Indeed, group 6 along with some faculty members had taken the initiative in several demonstrations and teach-ins protesting the war. (Ninety percent in group 6 oppose the war; 10% have mixed feelings; none support it.) Group 2, also, was visibly active organizing discussion groups centering on the war and foreign policy and in providing facilities for several groups which formed in the wake of the bombing of North Vietnam in 1965. (Seventy percent in group 2 oppose the war; 19% are pro-con; 11% support the government policy). These activities, and national events, had an effect on student opinion by 1966 and 1967; seniors' opinions are fairly evenly split among the three positions. The different fraternities and sororities vary in the actual proportions endorsing each position and certainly show wide differences of opinion but in general they tend to be less dovish than the seniors. Particularly hawkish is fraternity 18, with the highest pro-war proportion of all groups, including the right-wing political group and groups 12, 14, 15, 17, and 29. The two fundamentalist religious groups, the Catholic group and the right-wing political group are also quite homogeneous in the number of students supporting the government policy in Vietnam. Although they do not oppose the war to a great extent, the Republican political group does not endorse it strongly either--perhaps because it was at the time the policy of the Democratic party. By the same token, the Democratic student organization does not oppose the policy (this was before the open split between doves and loyalists in the Democratic party), but they do not support it strongly either.

Academic-Intellectual Interests

We included a series of questions which tap students' academic and intellectual attitudes and experiences. First, looking at students' majors in each group, it is worth noting that there is a great variety of subjects pursued by members in almost all the groups. There are three exceptions to this rule: group 6 has an overwhelming concentration of social science majors; group 8 has a large number of social science majors and a large minority of pre-law students; group 14 has a large group of social science majors. Why one would find such a large concentration of social science majors in this fraternity is not at all apparent; there is a larger concentration there than in political groups 7 and 9, where one could expect to find more students majoring in one of the social sciences. In these latter two groups, no one area predominates although just about one-third of the students in the right-wing group are majoring in a pre-professional subject (pre-dentistry, engineering, social work, nursing, pharmacy, etc.). Pre-professional majors are greatly over-represented in the two traditional religious groups, the Methodist group (5) and several of the fraternities. There is a higher concentration of humanities (especially in group 28) and education majors among the sororities, and there are more business administration majors in the fraternities. But, as we have said, none of these fields predominates.

Ten percent of the MSS seniors are in honors programs. Among the student groups, the proportions range from 31% in group 6, 26% in group 8, 27% in group 19 to zero in group 1, two of the sororities and one of the fraternities. Overall, fraternities, sororities and religious group members show low involvement in honors work.

This is not true when students responded to a question about the importance of classroom work, where very large proportions of students in all the groups--most particularly those in group 1 and several of the sororities--say classroom work is crucially or very important. It is interesting that groups 2, 6, and 7 are among the lowest endorsers of this question.

But when it comes to the importance of individual study and research, a more internalized academic activity, groups 2 and 7 show highest ratings. Again, several of the sororities and fraternities are high on this item--but note the 12% in group 11. Like the random sample, smaller proportions of students rate individual research as being as important as classroom work.

Fewer students feel it is crucially or very important to know faculty members. On this item, groups 2, 6, 7, 14, 20, and 25 come out ten percent or more points higher than the senior samples in the proportions feeling this is a crucial or very important aspect of college.

Intellectual exchange with other students is important for very large proportions of sororities which, in contrast to the fraternities, all exceed the proportion endorsing this item in the random sample. Aside from group 3, all of the religious and political groups exceed the random sample, especially groups 2 and 6.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the arts are not an important area of concern for members of religious, political and fraternity groups (excluding group 19). This is an important domain, however, for the sororities.

Summing up so far, we have seen much homogeneity in the socioeconomic, religious and political backgrounds of fraternity and sorority members but more variation in their religious, political, academic and intellectual attitudes. Some of the fraternities and sororities are clearly presenting religious and political environments which are more homogeneous than those experienced by non-affiliated students; overall, these environments are more conservative than the general student body. However, there are exceptions to this rule among some of the groups and, even within the more traditional houses, one can see the effects of the University on religious and political attitudes. Group 12, a scholarship fraternity whose members come from poorer, less educated and therefore more Democratic families, appears to be developing more conservative attitudes than the general student body and many of the other fraternity members. There may be group reinforcement for this effect in group 12, just as there were some indications of group impact in the other direction in sorority 28.

Another important set of data documented the variety of academic fields represented in the different Greek organizations and the high degree of support for the academic and intellectual aspects of college life. This is especially striking among the sorority members who, on the whole, come from the highest status families of the groups in the study.

We found more heterogeneity in the backgrounds of the religious and political group members, but much more agreement in attitudes--particularly in those attitudes related to the groups' missions. Thus, religious adherence and attendance shows little variation in four of the religious groups, and party affiliation and salience of national and world affairs take on a consistency in the political groups. In general, traditionalism of one sort was connected to traditionalism of another sort (as we shall see more directly in a later analysis of items on religious, political and other forms of traditionalism): groups 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 9 are conservative both in religious and political terms. Large numbers of students in these groups, 1 and 3 in particular, come from lower-status, small town, Republican, Protestant families; they major to a great extent in the traditional upwardly mobile major and minor professional fields.

Conversely, non-traditionalism in one area is connected to non-traditionalism in another: groups 2 and 6 stand out in this regard. These groups, in sharp contrast to the two most traditional groups, contain a high concentration of urban students from high status families.

Group 2 should be singled out as a unique specimen of religious group; on almost all of our measures, it more closely resembled the two liberal political organizations (6 and 8) than the other religious groups.

On the academic-intellectual items, we found more interest in the less traditional, more personal forms of academic experience in group 6, where the highest proportions rate knowing faculty and intellectual exchange with other students as crucial in college; group 6 also has the largest concentration of students in the honors program. Group 1 is very high on the traditional emphasis on the classroom, while groups 2 and 7 are strong in their concern with individual study and research.

Extracurricular Interests and Activity

Four different ways of finding out about students' extracurricular involvements sorted out the meaning of the extracurriculum for fraternities and sororities vs. the religious and political groups. First, looking at students' ratings of the importance of campus issues and student government which, in general, is not an important area for students, proves to be surprisingly unimportant to most fraternities and sororities. The highest proportion of students saying campus issues are crucial or important--18%--is in fraternity 15, well known for the involvement of some of its members in student government and other campus-wide activities. Group 6, with 30% saying campus issues are crucial, is the highest on this item. Group 8 is second highest.

However, the next item which asked members to rate the importance of school spirit activities pulls out the fraternities and sororities. Compared to the MSS sample, members of fraternities and sororities place a stronger emphasis on school spirit--Homecoming, football, etc.--while religious and political group members do not see these as important. In passing, it is interesting to note the low interest in school spirit in sorority 28, the group we earlier singled out for its larger than average defection from the Republican party. Among the religious and political groups, 5 and 9 are highest on importance placed on school spirit, while groups 2 and 6 are very low.

Back to an item that loses support from fraternities and sororities, the extent of students' extracurricular activity, we note that although all groups are higher than the MSS, fraternities and sororities have very low levels of extracurricular activity. Even the most active fraternities still have large groups of totally non-involved members. There are also large proportions of totally uninvolved members in religious groups 1, 2 and 5. The left-wing political group, the Republican group and the evangelical religious group have the greatest proportion of students active in extracurricular affairs.

Finally, it is not surprising to see that the fraternities and sororities, and especially the latter (with the important exception again of group 28), show keen interest in dating. Dating is less important to members of the religious and political groups.

Fraternities and sororities, then, are mainly interested in the social and dating aspects of the extracurriculum and seem much less involved even in the traditional area of student government. Of course, there are large enough numbers of students spread out over the whole Greek system to man the important campus positions, but these are not terribly compelling activities for most fraternity men and sorority women. Religious and political groups are not involved in any aspect of the extracurriculum to a great extent--social or otherwise. Of all these groups, group 6 appears to be the most concerned about campus issues, with a fair number of its membership participating in activities. But outside of group 6, and even in this group, involvement in campus affairs does not seem to be overwhelming by any means.

Value and Personality Variables

The final set of questions is a group which taps some fundamental value and personality dimensions. Students were asked to rank a series of eight things students want to get out of college: "getting prepared for marriage and family life;" "thinking through what kind of occupation and career I want;" "having fun;" "enjoying the last period before assuming adult responsibilities;" "exploring new ideas--the excitement of learning;" "establishing meaningful friendships;" "finding myself, discovering what kind of person I really want to be;" "opportunities to think through what I really believe, what values are important to me;" "developing a deep, perhaps professional grasp of a specific field of study." Table VI-11 reports the percentages of students who rank each college goal as their first choice. Like the MSS sample, only small numbers of students in the student groups rate preparing for marriage and family life, having fun, or establishing meaningful friendships, as their first choice--including fraternity and sorority members, who might be expected to rank these goals higher. Occupational preparation is predictably not a first common concern of most of the sorority women, while it is important to many more fraternity men. Among the religious and political groups, occupational preparation is of significance to a smaller percentage of members, with a high of 23% in group 1 (recall the large percentage in this group in pre-professional majors) and a low of 5% in group 6. Thirty-one percent of the members of group 1 ranked "developing a deep, perhaps professional group of a specific field of study" first, indicating a deeper intrinsic commitment to a field of study, while this goal is of lesser importance to members of other groups.

For the sample of students from the larger study (MSS), "finding myself, discovering what kind of person I really want to be" is first ranked by the largest proportion of students. This is true to an even greater extent among most of the fraternity and sorority members, with the exception of fraternities 11, 12, 15, and 17. It is also the most frequently ranked value in religious groups 2, 4, and 5 and political groups 6, 7, and 8. The most deviant group on this item is group 1, where only 4% of the membership ranked it first. For group 1, a much more important goal is the "opportunity to think through values." Groups 3 and 9 join group 1 in the widespread importance of the development of values.

One might have expected greater endorsement of the value goal among the other religious and political groups, but the next series of items indicates that members of groups 2 and 6 are more involved in questions of self-discovery and change. Compared to the sample from the larger study, a disproportionately large number of students in these groups are concerned with self-discovery and report much change both in beliefs and values and in identity issues in college. Conversely, members of groups 1 and 7 report less change in college and, particularly in group 1, less concern with self-discovery. The fraternities and sororities vary a great deal on these items: on the self-discovery question, the range is from 7% of the members of fraternity 17 to 64% (the highest of all 27 groups) in sorority 28 who say this is a crucial concern. The sororities in general are much more concerned with self-discovery than all of the fraternities and seven of the religious and political groups. Several of the sororities also report greater change in college; here, sorority 28 again appears unusually responsive.

Finally, we asked students to indicate the degree to which they felt in disagreement with the values of the faculty and students at the University. One is struck by the low levels of disagreement with faculty among the fraternity and sorority members; in five houses, none of the members felt they frequently disagree with faculty. But as compared to the 7% of the MSS sample who feel frequent disagreement 52% of the members of group 1, 36% of the members of group 6, and 46% of the members of group 7 perceive frequent disagreement. To a lesser extent, but still more than the MSS sample, members of the other religious and political groups respond in these terms.

Sense of disagreement with students is higher than disagreement with faculty in all the groups as well as in the MSS sample but here, again, the religious and political groups, with the exception of group 9, report high levels of disagreement; three-quarters of the members of group 1 and group 6 say they have frequent disagreements with students, and over fifty percent in groups 3 and 7 feel this way.

To summarize, several general points are apparent from this set of questions. There is a clear sex-role effect operating in some of the items; fraternity members are much more concerned about occupational preparation than sorority members and sorority members are much more focused on issues of self-discovery and change in college. Indeed, sorority members emerge from these data as extremely open and responsive to their experiences at the University. Another general observation is the low perceived disagreement with faculty and, to a lesser extent, with students among the members of Greek organizations, an indication of the high sense of integration these students feel in the larger world of the University. Indeed, the fraternities and sororities do not appear to be groups which are set against or subversive of the larger setting. There is no evidence that fraternities and sororities make explicit ideological demands which would set them against one or another group in the University, and as we have seen, they share the conventional academic values of the University.

Religious and political group members feel themselves to be more deviant. They experience more value conflict, particularly with other students, and in some of the groups, more of a need to work through the values they do hold. Some of these groups--the conservative ones in particular--react by resisting change and by warding off introspection. Members of the more liberal groups react by looking inside themselves and report significant changes both in their values and in the ways they think of themselves. "Value" for these students takes on a meaning that is colored by their own personal development during college.

Analysis of Items from the Group Questionnaire

The first set of analyses of the group questionnaire was directed toward developing indices of group structure, values, and aggregated characteristics of members to be used as independent variables on which groups could be rated relative to one another. Although the actual content of the questions which go into making up these variables is different, the concepts that they are taken to represent are direct translations of peer-level concepts into the context of formally organized groups. In a few cases, some are uniquely group-level variables--e.g., visibility of the group and leadership characteristics. These variables can then be related to the key outcome variables in the broader Michigan Student Study, where the groups in the student organization study are viewed as providing a set of experiences whose impact on members can be investigated along with informal peer groups, dyadic friendships, and academic contacts. Similar students in different groups, different students in similar groups, as well as students who were not connected with any of the groups in the student organization study can be compared from freshman to senior year.

Individual items for the total student organization study sample (with a total N of 1,889 for all respondents) were run to test for relationships among items, as a way of constructing multi-item indices of the key concepts discussed in the theoretical section earlier. These analyses are interesting in their own right, and the most significant of them are presented in the following pages.

Participation

What levels and types of participation do the students across all twenty-nine groups display? Two clusters emerge from a cluster analysis, indicating different types of participation. One, which we have called "Rank and File Participation," brings together such questions as the constancy of affiliation with the group (i.e. whether affiliation has been continual or intermittent), attendance at functions which are available to all members such as general meetings and social events, and the amount of time spent on group-related activities. Another cluster, related to the first but clearly independent, is a "Leadership Participation" cluster which shows high correlations among less available roles and activities: holding an office, attending committee meetings, going to conventions. Table VI-12 shows the intercorrelations among the items in the two clusters.

TABLE VI-12

Intercorrelations Among Items in Rank and File Participation and Leadership Participation Indices

	Index of Rank and File Participation			
	Continual vs Intermittent Contact	Attendance of General Meetings of Group	Attendance of Public Events of Group	Attendance of Social Events of Group
General Meetings	.33			
Public Events	.15	.31		
Social Events	.31	.50	.46	
Average Time Per Week Spent on Group	.44	.36	.30	.52

	Index of Leadership Participation		
	Present or Past Officer or Chairman of Committee	Attendance at Committee Meetings of Group	Attendance at Board Meetings of Group
Committee Meetings	.36		
Board Meetings	.46	.49	
Attendance at Conventions of Group	.08	.17	.26

Cohesion

Using various questions tapping importance, satisfaction and loyalty, two clusters again emerge clearly, paralleling the two levels of participation. One, which we call "Attraction," brings together a general feeling of belongingness to the group, as indicated by feeling the group was important (or unimportant), was satisfying (unsatisfying), produced (or did not produce) a sense of belonging to it. Another cluster, "Commitment," implies a stronger, more active connection; a sense that one would work to save the group in the face of opposition from the outside and from member apathy, a feeling that one would want to belong to similar groups after college. (Table VI-13).

TABLE VI-13

Intercorrelations Among Items in Attraction and Commitment Indices

	Index of Attraction	
	Importance of Group to Respondent	Satisfaction with Group
Satisfaction	.54	
Sense of belonging	.69	.56

	Index of Commitment	
	Belong to Similar Group after College?	Work to Save Group if threatened from Outside?
Save group if threatened from outside?	.47	
Save group if threatened by member disinterest?	.41	.68

Concern of the Group with Impact on Members

We thought originally that we would find a general factor tapping concern with group impact on members. On examining the data, however, we discovered that members distinguish between "participation pressure" and "pressure to share values." Two items on participation correlated .48 with each other but not highly with another set of items which clearly show a generalized normative pressure to share values, indicated by high correlations among the questions dealing with pressures on values and concern with influencing new members. (Table VI-14).

TABLE VI-14

Intercorrelations Among Items in Pressure To Participate and Normative Pressure on Values Indices

	Index of Pressure to Participate
	Group let R Know to Participate
Amount of pressure to participate	.48

TABLE VI-14 (cont)

Intercorrelations Among Items in Pressure to Participate and Normative Pressure on Value Indices

	Index of Normative Pressure on Values		
	Group let R Know Values	Degree of Pressure to Share Values	Directness of Concern with Influencing New Members
Degree of pressure on values	.48		
Directness of concern with influencing new members	.27	.17	
Degree of concern with influencing new members	.30	.25	.68

Characteristics of Leaders

We asked members to choose the three characteristics which most accurately described the president and the most respected and admired person in their group, from among a list which included the following choices: "Has most knowledge in group-related areas;" "Is extremely warm, sympathetic and understanding;" "Has ability to direct others;" "Has approval of and influence with people at the University outside the group;" "Personifies the ideal values of the group;" "Has time and energy to work and is obviously eager to participate;" "Is easy to get along with, friendly;" "Has very original and creative ideas;" "Represents what the average member is like;" "Has good physical appearance, athletic skill, savoir faire, family background;" "Is reliable." Table VI-15 summarizes the responses to these questions.

On the characteristics most associated with task performance--has knowledge, is good organizer, has time and energy, is reliable--the president is more highly rated. On socio-emotional qualities--is warm, friendly, personifies ideal values--the most respected and admired person is more frequently chosen. Research on small groups has documented the differentiation of leaders into task vs. socio-emotional specialists. This differentiation is supported by our data, and further analyses will trace the implications for group functioning and impact on members of differentiation vs. integration of these traits in the leadership of the different student groups.

Interests and Values of Self Vis-A-Vis Other Group Members

We devised several questions which asked members to rate themselves on a particular set of interests and values, and then to rate other group

TABLE VI-15

Most Important Characteristics of President and Most Respected and Admired Person in Group[1]

	President	Respected and Admired Person
Has Knowledge	35%	23%
Is Warm, Sympathetic	17	47
Is Good Organizer	55	35
Has Influence Outside Group	14	18
Personifies Ideal Values of Group	22	38
Has Time and Energy	55	34
Is Friendly	35	45
Is Original, Creative	12	16
Represents An Average Member	6	4
Has Good Physical Appearance, etc.	8	9
Is Reliable	41	30
N	821	750

---

[1] Totals to more than 100% because three responses were possible.

members on the same items. This permits us to analyze both the extent of actual agreement among members, and of perceived agreement, as a way of getting at normative pressures within the group in certain areas. We are interested in both the content of these areas as well as the number of areas on which group members perceive other members as converging. One of the first things we did with these questions was to intercorrelate the interest and value items to see if they clustered together in certain ways. Table VI-16 presents the correlation matrices for the two sets of items for old members; within each matrix, the correlation coefficient of each pair of items is presented for perceptions of other group members (G column) and for self-reports (R column). Coefficients of .30 or more are underlined.

The intercorrelations indicate clear patterns of relationships, which are the basis for combining items for indices in later analyses. For both self-descriptions and for descriptions of other group members, interest in campus issues, international understanding, and politics form one cluster. Intellectual interest is highly correlated with concern about international affairs and politics, but is not strongly related to interest in campus issues. Intellectuality is also strongly linked to an interest in the arts but which itself is linked only weakly with the three political interest items.

It is significant that intellectuality is not related strongly to studying; indeed, interest in studying is not integrated with other interests either in the description of the self or other group members. Finally, a distinct theme on the interest question is the link between interest in being "cool" and an interest in dating.

On the values items, the clusters for R and G diverge somewhat. For self-descriptions, intellectuality goes with pro-academic attitudes, while for description of group members, academic concerns correlate highly with attitudes toward social life. There is also a clear traditionality cluster for both R and G which links political, religious and sexual attitudes. Finally, there are two slightly different but interconnected clusters: one, a Greek-social life dimension which, for G, is related to openness; the other, a warmth-relaxed cluster for both R and G.

As a way of breaking down these clusters of interests and values out of the total sample of respondents we intercorrelated these variables separately for the four types of groups. For clarity of presentation, Figure VI-1 displays only the correlation coefficients that reached .30 or beyond for descriptions of other group members only.

TABLE VI-16

Intercorrelations of Interests and Values of Respondents (R) and Respondents' Perceptions of Other Group Members (G)

A. Interests

	Campus Issues		Studying		International Understanding		Intellectual		"Cool"		Arts		Religion		Political	
	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R
Studying	.07	-.01														
International Understanding	.32	.24	.07	.10												
Intellectual	.29	.26	.20	.16	.44	.38										
"Cool"	-.10	.03	.08	.09	-.17	-.13	-.13	-.10								
Arts	.15	.16	.26	.11	.26	.18	.40	.35	.00	.01						
Religion	.00	-.08	.21	.21	.18	.04	.21	.04	-.16	-.00	.22	.09				
Political	.38	.31	.06	.07	.42	.44	.37	.30	.12	-.05	.23	.11	.05	-.10		
Dating	-.06	.05	.25	.07	-.19	-.02	-.04	-.04	.47	.41	.11	.12	-.05	.05	-.03	-.03

(continued on next page)

TABLE VI-16 (cont)

Intercorrelations of Interests and Values of Respondents (R) and Respondent's Perceptions of Other Group Members (G)

B. Values

1. Political Conservative-Liberal
2. Conventionality
3. Intellectuality
4. Religious Traditionality
5. Vietnam
6. Openness
7. Social Life
8. Academics
9. Sexual Morality
10. Warmth
11. Greeks
12. Relaxed vs. Tense

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11	
	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R
1.																						
2.	-.01	-.03																				
3.	-.02	-.01	.23	.22																		
4.	.26	-.34	-.15	-.23	.02	-.03																
5.	-.23	.20	.24	.19	.17	.12	-.25	-.23														
6.	.21	.15	.01	.00	-.13	.05	.06	.05	.03	.08												
7.	.13	-.04	-.11	-.03	-.14	-.02	.07	.09	-.12	-.01	.33	-.08										
8.	.03	.02	.03	.02	.21	.31	.13	.14	-.07	.02	.05	.06	.30	.12								
9.	-.18	-.20	.15	.28	-.03	.09	-.36	-.42	.18	.26	.14	.00	.14	.14	-.03	-.05						
10.	.01	.03	.04	-.01	.12	.05	.13	.14	-.01	-.00	-.08	-.20	.13	.26	.14	.11	.00	.12				
11.	.25	.24	-.27	-.21	-.15	-.14	.19	.29	-.28	-.28	.30	.05	.56	.31	.25	.06	.08	.03	.17	.22		
12.	.06	.11	-.06	-.00	.06	-.03	.12	.19	-.05	-.05	.03	-.09	.20	.18	.11	-.00	.07	.03	.42	.35	.32	.25

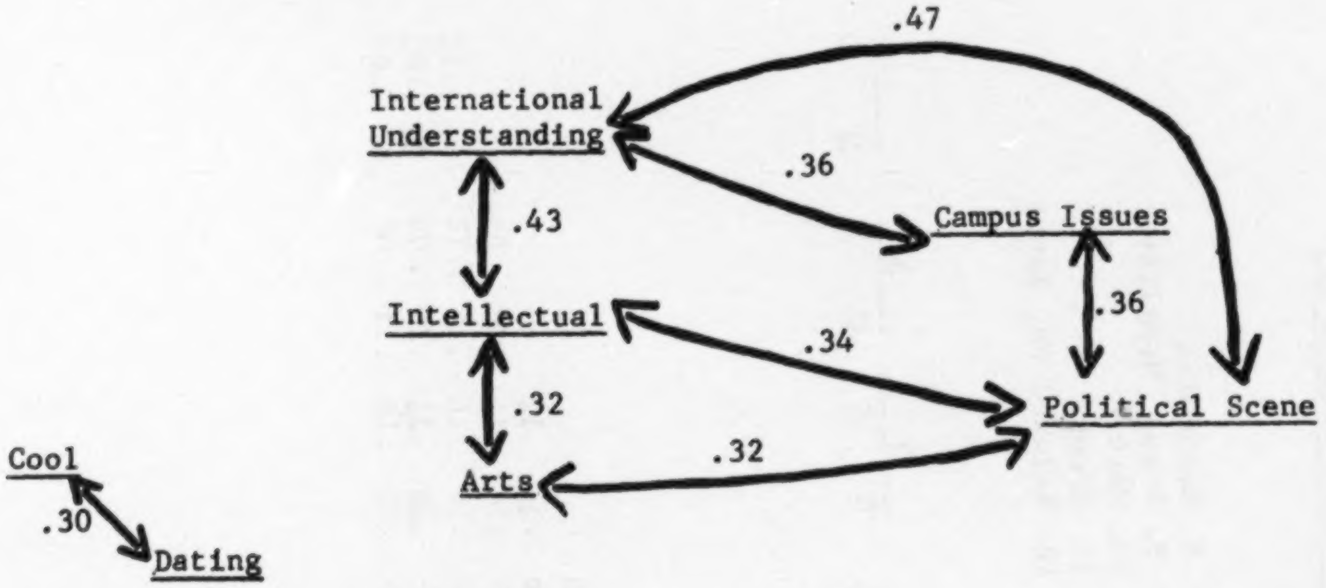
N = 950

FIGURE VI-1

CORRELATIONS OF .30 OR HIGHER ON RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS
OF OTHER GROUP MEMBERS' INTERESTS AND VALUES: BY TYPE OF GROUP

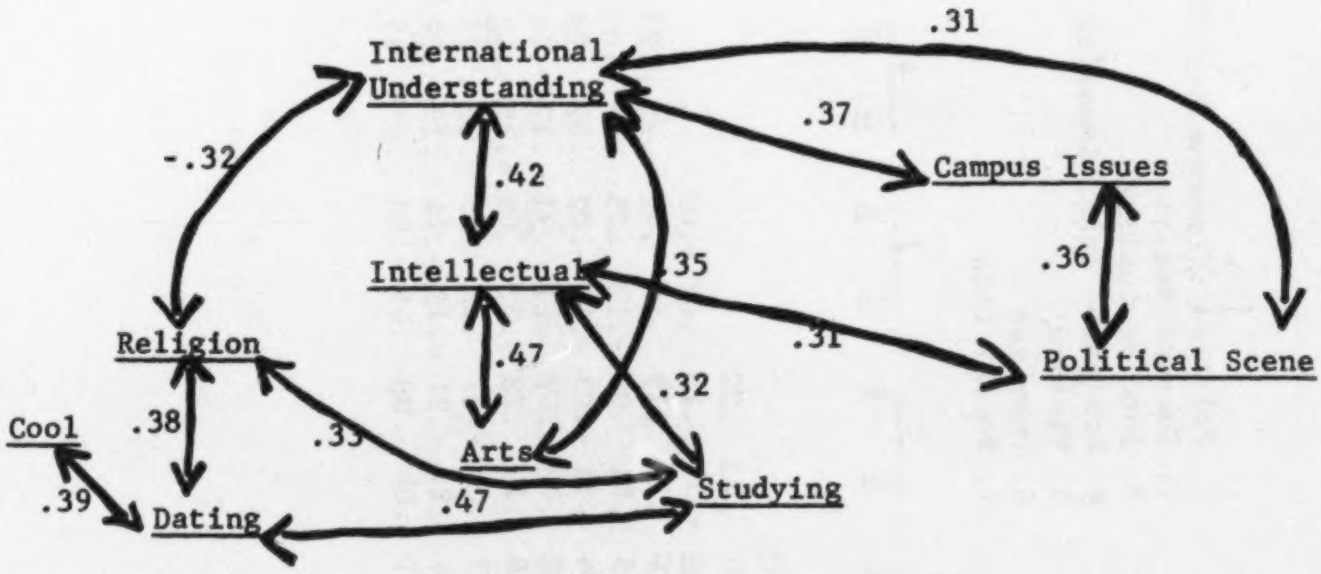
Perceptions of Group Members' Interests

Religious Groups


.47
International Understanding
.36
.43
Campus Issues
.36
Intellectual
.34
.32
Political Scene
Cool
.32
Arts
.30
Dating

N = 325

Political Groups

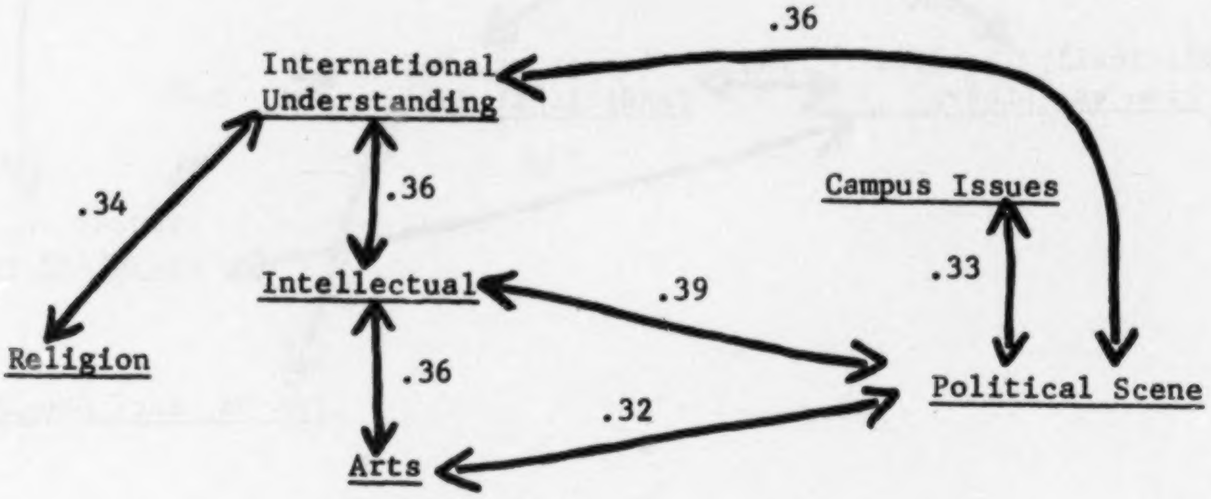

.31
International Understanding
.37
-.32
.42
Campus Issues
Intellectual
.35
.36
Religion
.31
Political Scene
.47
.32
Cool
.38
.33
Arts
Studying
.39
Dating
.47

N = 216

FIGURE VI-1 (cont'd)

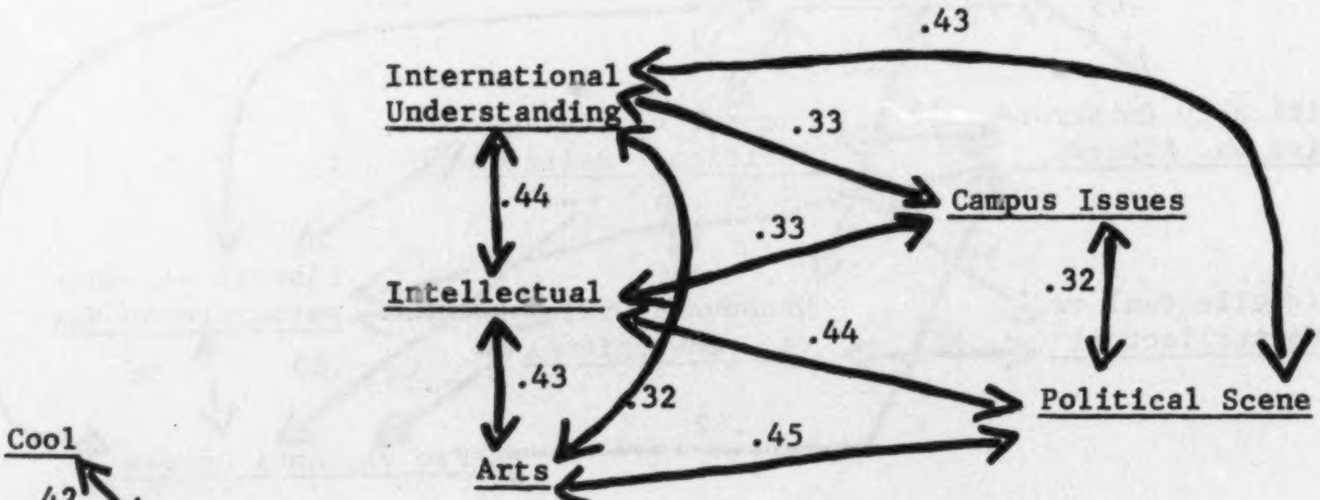
Perceptions of Group Members' Interests

Fraternities


International Understanding
.36
.34
.36
Campus Issues
.33
Intellectual
.39
Religion
.36
Political Scene
.32
Arts

N = 338

Sororities

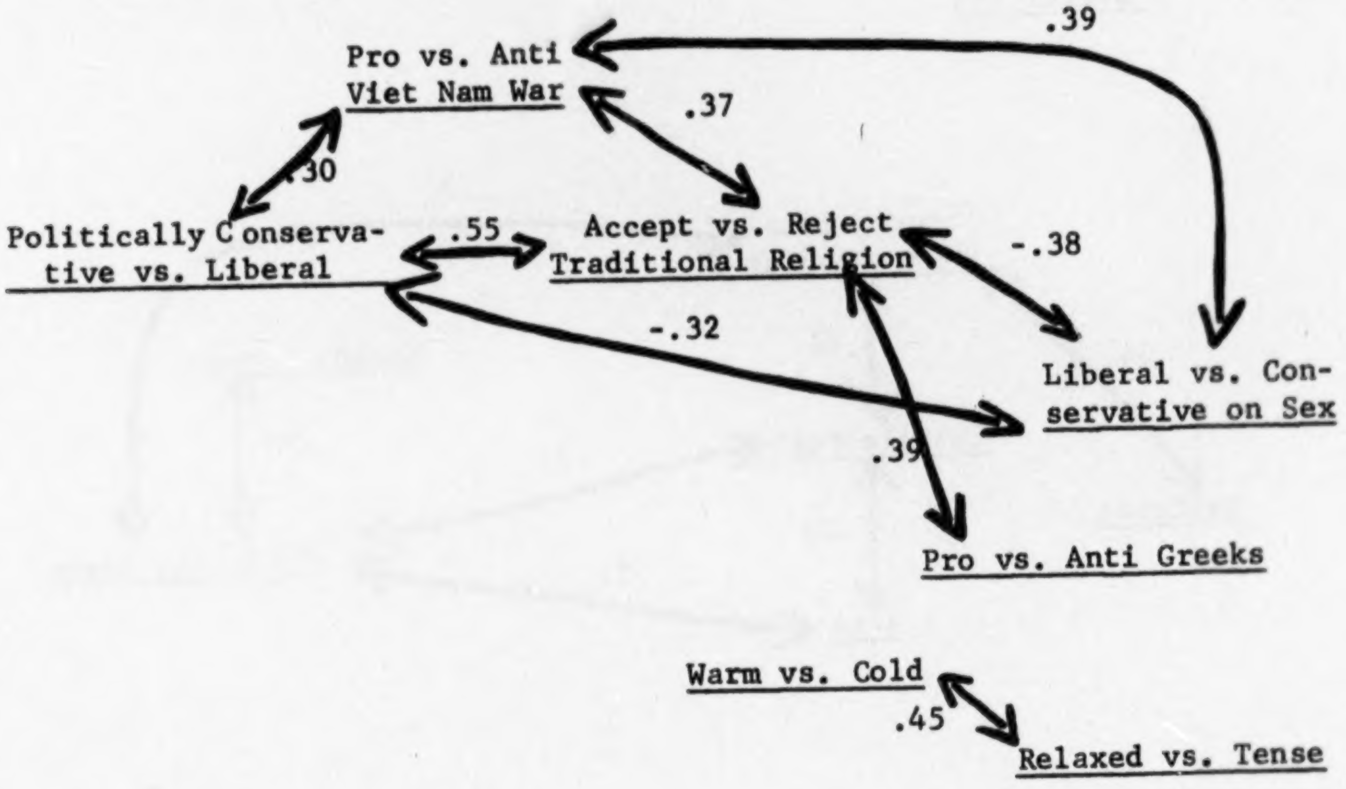

.43
International Understanding
.33
.44
Campus Issues
.33
.32
Intellectual
.44
.43
.32
Political Scene
Cool
.45
.42
Arts
Dating

N = 429

FIGURE VI-1 (cont'd)

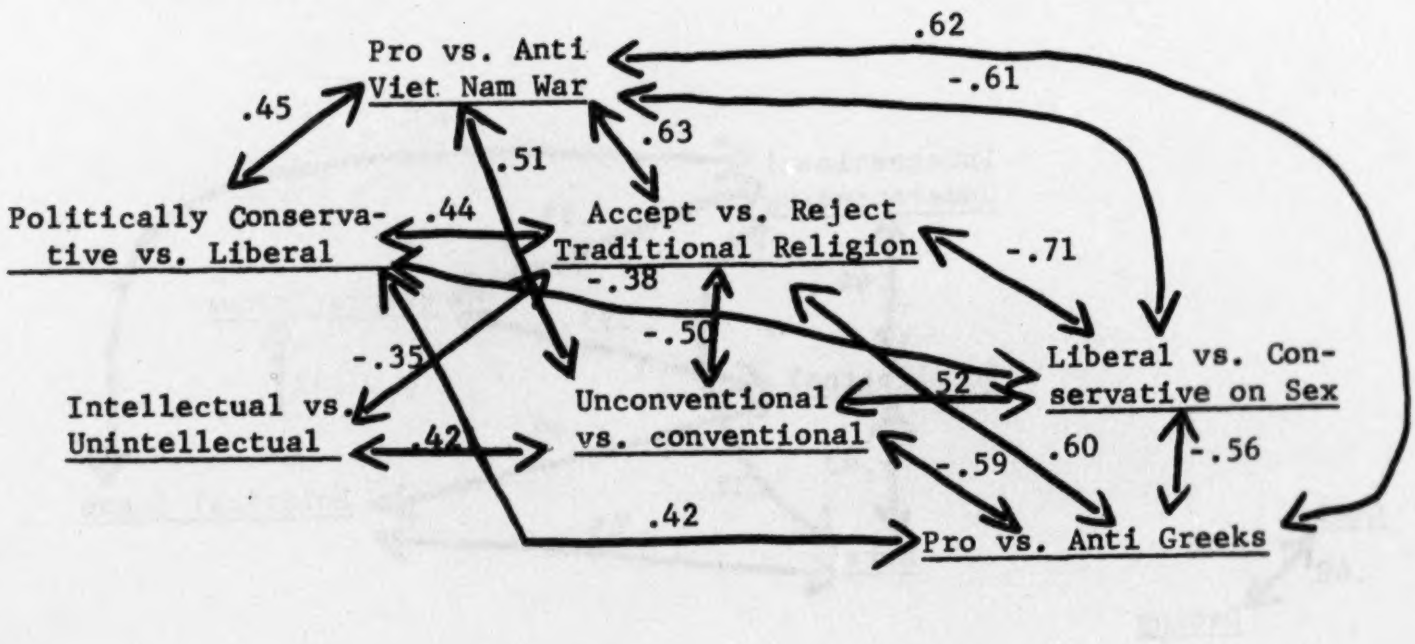
Perceptions of Group Members' Values

Religious Groups


.39
Pro vs. Anti Viet Nam War
.37
.30
Politically Conservative vs. Liberal
.55
Accept vs. Reject Traditional Religion
-.38
-.32
Liberal vs. Conservative on Sex
.39
Pro vs. Anti Greeks
Warm vs. Cold
.45
Relaxed vs. Tense

N = 325

Political Groups

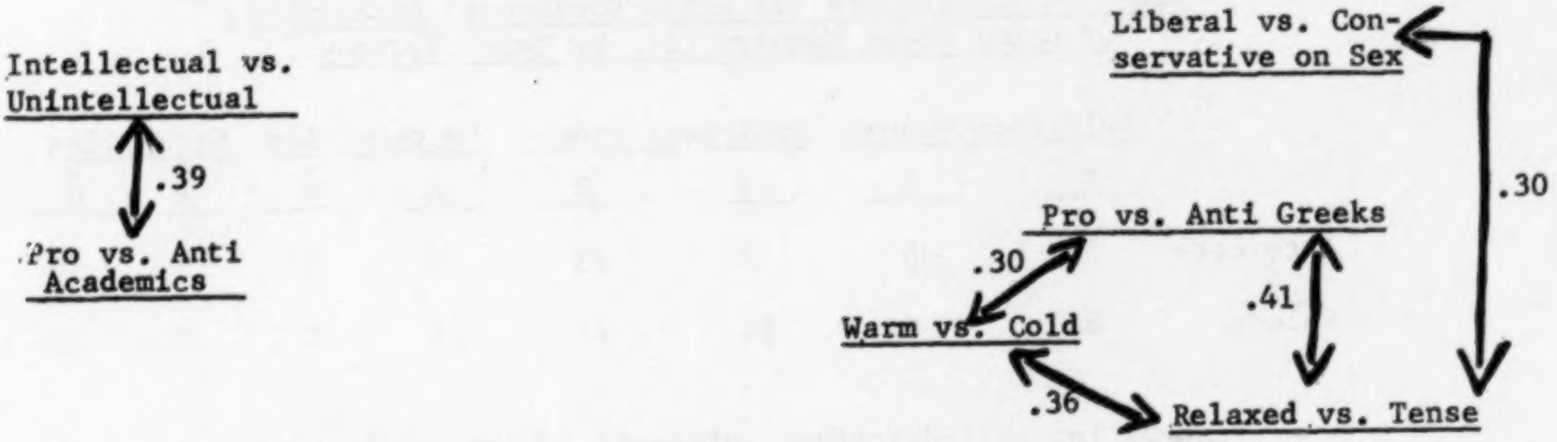

.62
Pro vs. Anti Viet Nam War
-.61
.45
.63
.51
Politically Conservative vs. Liberal
.44
Accept vs. Reject Traditional Religion
-.71
-.38
-.50
-.35
Liberal vs. Conservative on Sex
Intellectual vs. Unintellectual
.42
Unconventional vs. conventional
52
.60
-.56
-.59
.42
Pro vs. Anti Greeks

N = 216

FIGURE VI-1 (cont'd)

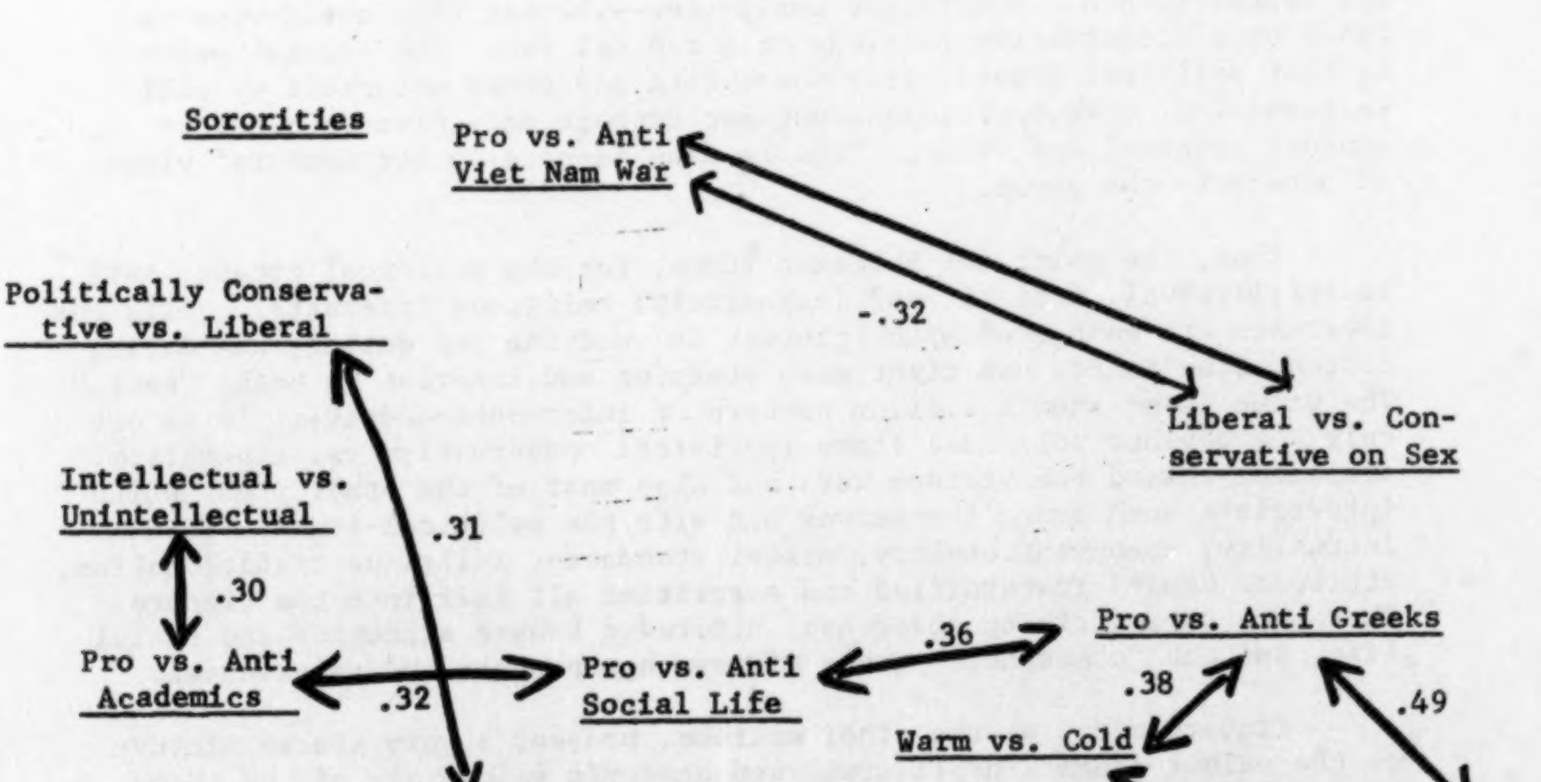
Perceptions of Group Members' Values

Fraternities


Liberal vs. Conservative on Sex
Intellectual vs. Unintellectual
.39
Pro vs. Anti Academics
.30
Pro vs. Anti Greeks
.30
.41
Warm vs. Cold
.36
Relaxed vs. Tense

N = 338

Sororities


Pro vs. Anti Viet Nam War
Politically Conservative vs. Liberal
-.32
Liberal vs. Conservative on Sex
Intellectual vs. Unintellectual
.31
.30
.36
Pro vs. Anti Greeks
Pro vs. Anti Academics
.32
Pro vs. Anti Social Life
.38
.49
Warm vs. Cold
.48
Relaxed vs. Tense
Open vs. Closed

N = 429

One is struck visually almost immediately by the large number of connected items for the political groups. A simple count of the correlations of .30 or above for both self and group descriptions yields the following numbers:

TABLE VI-17

Number of Intercorrelations of .30 or Above of Interests and Values of Respondents (R) and Respondents' Perceptions of Other Group Members (G), by Type of Group

	Religious Groups		Political Groups		Fraternities		Sororities	
	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G
Interests	5	8	5	13	4	7	5	10
Values	8	8	14	16	7	5	6	8

Except for self-described interests, where political groups equal the number of correlations of .30 or above in the other types of groups, the political groups give strikingly more integrated pictures of other groups members' interests and values and of their own values. In line with the usual stereotypes of the Greek system, one might have expected a more integrated picture from fraternities and sororities. These results indicate the extent to which political groups view many different issues within a consistent world-view--whether that world-view is based on a conservative ideology or a radical one. The crucial point is that political groups, from these data and other materials we will be examining, take positions about and connect many diverse areas of student interest and value. This is true especially for members' views of others in the group.

Thus, the political interest items, for the political groups, pull in intellectual, artistic and (negatively) religious interests. Religious interests are connected with interest in studying and dating, and dating is connected in its own right with studying and interest in being "cool." The value items show a similar pattern of interconnectedness: it is not only the obvious political items (political conservatism vs. liberalism, attitudes toward the Vietnam War) but also most of the other items which interrelate both among themselves and with the political items. Intellectuality, unconventionality, sexual standards, religious traditionalism, attitudes toward fraternities and sororities all fall into the picture. There are some striking absences: attitudes toward academics and social life, and the "atmosphere" items of warmth, openness and relaxedness.

Fraternities, at the other extreme, present a very sparse picture on the values items: intellectual and academic values are off by themselves, not strongly correlated with anything else, and the warm-cold, relaxed-tense, attitudes toward Greeks, and sex items form another cluster.

Here is an empirical validation of the common stereotype of fraternities: academic-intellectual interests, when they do occur, are isolated from group life, which centers almost exclusively on sociability--and sex.

Sororities are somewhat more complex. There is, like the fraternities, a sociability cluster, but this is linked through attitudes toward social life to academic values and through academic values to intellectual values. There is an interesting linkage in the sororities between political liberalism and openness, and between attitudes toward the Vietnam war and sexual standards.

The important focus for religious groups is precisely the religious value, which is the important link between the political items, sex items, and attitudes toward fraternities and sororities. It is as if these values gain their meaning in the context of religious ideology. Indeed, religion as an interest does not correlate strongly with the other interest items for the religious groups (as it does for the political groups); it is off by itself as a separate issue.

Visibility and Permeability

Here we are interested in the openness of the group to the outside and have found three quite distinct bases of relationships to the outside. One, an "Awareness" dimension, has to do with the extent to which group members think other categories of people at the University are aware of their group (we also have an objective measure of visibility from the respondents in the broader study).[7] Two, an "Inflow" dimension, is the extent to which group members see the group as open to influence from

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[7] The students in the broader study were asked to indicate whether they had heard of and had any connection with 10 religious groups and 8 political groups on campus; these included the five religious groups and four political groups in our student organization study. The ranks of these groups relative to the groups not in our study, based on mean responses to a six-point rating scale, are:

Religious Groups	Rank (out of 10)
Group 1	8
Group 2	4
Group 3	5
Group 4	2
Group 5	3

Political Groups	Rank (out of 8)
Group 6	2
Group 7	7
Group 8	1
Group 9	3

outside agents; and, three, an "outflow" dimension is the extent to which the group is seen as influencing individuals and groups outside its boundaries. These dimensions will be treated separately to characterize the different groups, but it will also be important to combine them in a typology that will capture the different kinds of interactions groups have with their environments. Table VI-18 shows the intercorrelations among the items in these indices.

TABLE VI-18

Intercorrelations Among Items in Visibility and Permeability Measures

Index of Perception of Outsiders' Awareness of Group

	Awareness by Similar Groups at U	Awareness by Faculty
Awareness by Faculty	.50	
Awareness by General Student Body	.39	.39

Index of Inflow

	Influence on Group from Branches Outside U	Influence on Group from Similar Groups at U	Influence on Group from Faculty, Administration	Influence on group from Student Government
Influence from Similar Groups	.34			
Influence from Faculty, Administration	.34	.46		
Influence from Student Government	.29	.35	.38	
Influence on Group from Outside U	.50	.36	.38	.35

TABLE VI-18 (cont)

Intercorrelations Among Items in Visibility and Permeability Measures

	Influence of Group on Branches Outside U	Influence of Group on Faculty	Influence of Group on Administration
Influence on Faculty	.17		
Influence on Administration	.20	.39	
Influence of Group on Students	.13	.18	.22

Other Most Important Indices

For brevity, these are listed below with their component items:

1. Self-perceived change as a result of group membership: change in values and attitudes as a result of group membership; change in ways of defining the self.

2. Change agents: persons responsible for change: officers, friends in the group, respected and admired member.

3. Intimacy: talk over personal problems with officers; with close friends in the group; with other members; proportion of good friends at the University who are in the group.

4. Conflict: anyone ever expelled from the group; number of factions; amount of conflict.

5. Overall effectiveness: effectiveness of what R sees as two main group goals.

6. Scope of group--University-related activities: extent to which R sees five university activities as an appropriate group concern (e.g., revision of honors program, tutoring students, liberalization of women's hours, university emphasis on varsity sports).

7. Scope of group--political issues: group concern about civil rights; Vietnam demonstrations.

8. Interests of group--political-campus issues: perception of other group members' interest in campus issues; international understanding; political scene.

9. Interests of group--intellectual: perception of other group members' interest in intellectual issues; the arts.

10. Interests of group--social: perception of other group members' interests in being "cool;" dating.

11. Interests of individual members--political-campus issues: respondents' interest in campus issues; international understanding; political scene.

12. Interests of individual members--intellectual: respondents' interest in intellectual issues; the arts.

13. Interests of individual members--social: respondents' interest in being "cool;" dating.

14. Recruitment--impersonal: R was recruited to group by impersonal means (posters; ad in student newspaper).

15. Recruitment--personal: recruitment by close friends; liked people in the group as a reason for joining.

16. Recruitment--values: recruitment because of values, goals of group.

17. Differences between group and respondent: differences were computed between a member's description of himself or herself and his perception of other group members for each of the nine interest items and the twelve value items discussed above (see Table VI-16). Then, a mean difference score across all the items was computed.

18. Difference between University and group: differences were computed between a member's description of other group members and the University for each of the twelve value items. Then, a mean difference score across all the items was computed.

Analysis of the Major Variables at the Group Level

Having analyzed the relationships among the various items which were designed to tap certain concepts and converted them into summary indices on the basis of those most highly correlated, we are now in a position to move to the next level. Here, we will be dealing with the inter-relationship of the "scores" of the 27 groups on these new variables, in a quest for even more refined, higher-order group variables. As with the analysis of the items, we learn as much about the ways the groups function as about the ways the variables work.

The means, standard deviations and variances of each of the major indices and a number of single items were computed in each of the groups, aggregated over members. These summary statistics were then inter-related in sets which made sense in terms of the concepts they seemed to be measuring. Since the total N is 27, we had to be careful not to use a measure of association which made strong statistical assumptions. The measure of association used here is the gamma measure developed by Goodman and Kruskal (1954) for data arranged in ordered classes. The first set of variables are presented in Table VI-19, which brings together a number of different indices tapping members' affective ties to the group and to other members.

A clear cluster of highly inter-related indices emerges from this table: amount of socializing with other group members; proportion of best friends at the University who are in the group; attraction; participation; intimacy; length of membership form one cluster (the gamma values for these variables are underlined in the table). It is interesting that only one of these indices--length of membership--related strongly to our commitment measure.[8] Several of the cluster of indices are negatively related to recruitment through impersonal channels and the degree of difference between self-descriptions and descriptions of other group members. It is somewhat surprising to find that both commitment and length of membership relate negatively to viewing the most respected and admired person in the group as personifying its ideal values. Perhaps viewing the most respected person in these terms is seen as too simplistic and naive by members with high commitment and long-term membership (these variables are themselves highly related) but more easily accepted by newer, less committed people. In any case, it is clear that the item on the most respected and admired person is quite separate from the dominant cluster, a sharply defined set of indicators of sociometric cohesion. It is crucial to note that commitment is not part of this affective integration.

In order to approach the issue of value-based cohesion more directly, we ran another set of variables which seemed to be tapping a kind of integration that might be distinguished from the affective dimension. Looking at the underlined clusters in the matrix in Table VI-20, a pattern of value integration emerges, as we had hoped. This cluster includes the extent of respondents' reported agreement with the group; recruitment to the group because of interest in its values; commitment; the extent to which the most respected and admired person in the group personifies its ideal values. Recruitment because of the group's values is highly related to recruitment through impersonal channels--the pattern represented most by the political groups and some of the religious groups but not by the fraternities and sororities. The commitment measure is highly related to normative pressures on values, which interestingly is not related to the three other measures of value integration. Indeed, normative pressure on values is negatively related to recruitment for values and to viewing the respected person as carrying ideal values, much as pressure to participate is negatively related to these measures. It seems that value integration is not accomplished when members sense a great deal of overt pressure to participate and, to a lesser extent, to share an ideology.

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[8] It should be recalled that the commitment measure is based on responses to questions asking about willingness to save the group in the face of opposition to it from the outside, to save the group because of member disinterest, and intention to belong to a similar group after college.

TABLE VI-19

Inter-relationship of Affective Variables at the Group Level
(Mean Scores for Each Group)

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Amount of Socializing with Other Group Members	.45	.35	-.24	.43	.26	-.27	-.21	.29	-.16
2. Proportion of Best Friends Who Are in Group		.59	-.17	.67	.37	-.51	-.04	.39	-.22
3. Attraction			.07	.61	.51	-.43	.04	.20	-.30
4. Commitment				-.13	-.00	.18	.22	-.39	-.24
5. Rank and File Participation					.40	-.55	-.17	.30	-.12
6. Intimacy						-.11	-.22	.32	-.29
7. Recruitment--Impersonal							-.12	-.10	.10
8. Respected and Admired Person Personifies Ideal Values of Group								-.36	-.10
9. Length of Membership									-.09
10. Mean Absolute Differences Between Group and R									

N = 27

TABLE VI-20

Inter-Relationship of Value Variables at the Group Level
(Mean Scores for Each Group)

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Extent of R's Agreement with Group	.55	.52	-.13	.26	-.58	-.08	.19	.40	-.31	-.24	-.47
2. Recruitment--Values		.46	-.31	.08	-.36	-.29	.34	.35	-.48	-.07	-.30
3. Commitment			-.19	.32	-.29	-.31	.18	.22	.39	-.24	-.47
4. Pressure to Participate				.18	.09	.45	-.31	-.38	.27	-.03	.25
5. Normative Pressure on Values					-.12	-.08	-.21	.20	.03	-.29	-.15
6. Conflict in Group						-.08	-.10	-.18	.21	.29	.37
7. Overall Effectiveness							-.23	-.31	.40	-.10	.08
8. Recruitment--Impersonal								.15	-.23	.05	-.13
9. Respected and Admired Person Personifies Ideal Values									-.36	-.10	.05
10. Length of Membership										-.09	.16
11. Mean Absolute Differences Between Group and R											.39
12. Variance of Mean Absolute Differences Between Group and R											

N = 27

An interesting sidelight is the set of relationships between conflict and effectiveness and the other variables. In general, group conflict is inversely related to value integration; it bears a relationship of -.58 to reported agreement with the group; of -.36 to recruitment for values; of -.29 to commitment; of +.37 to variance in differences between the group and the respondent. As many sociologists have written, conflict in societies and groups thrives in situations of weak value integration. This has both positive and negative implications for the life of groups. For example, we found in another analysis of these data that degree of conflict is positively related to the groups' responsiveness to its members (gamma = .34 between conflict and whether the group changes with the entry of new members and .28 between conflict and the degree of influence of the membership on the group). Degree of conflict is also related to members' perceptions of opposition to their group within the larger University. Viewed another way, conflict is part of a labile, changeable, responsive group style which necessarily implies diversity in members' views and lower membership integration into a preordained group order.

Effectiveness is also negatively related to recruitment for values, (-.29); commitment (-.31); viewing the respected member as personifying ideal values (-.31). But it is positively related to length of membership (.40) and to pressure to participate (.45). Members' perceptions of effectiveness, thus, do not seem to rest on their internalized sense of value commitment. Rather, effectiveness seems to be based on the more external sanctions and inducements centered around participation and membership. It may be that members with high value commitment have higher standards for judging group effectiveness than members with low commitment, or that the judgment about what is the measure of group effectiveness for those who view their groups as value-relevant is more problemmatic. Although both conflict and effectiveness show similar negative relationships with the value integration indices, it is significant that they bear no relationship with each other. They are measuring different group processes and outcomes.

Multiple Discriminant Analysis of Group Types

Having established the relationships among the major group variables, we are now in a position to make more sophisticated causal investigations. One of the first questions we want to ask, described earlier in Objective A, is the search for similarities and differences among the student organizations we studied. We want to know, for descriptive and theoretical reasons, what the relative positions of the groups are vis-a-vis one another and the extent to which these positions parallel the labels applied to the groups as political, religious or Greek organizations. Moreover, this becomes a necessary task as we move into assessing the groups' impacts on members (Objective C) and the University (Objective D).

How were we to do this? Even after the data reduction just described, we are still faced with almost eighty group properties in the form of indices or single items. We wanted some way to describe the pattern of characteristics which most distinguished the groups, which meant that we needed some systematic way of reducing the large number of variables to a smaller number of dimensions that, in turn, optimally set out the groups relative to one another.

This, essentially, was the problem confronted by Selvin and Hagstrom in their important paper, "The Empirical Classification of Formal Groups," (1966). Selvin and Hagstrom were interested in developing a way of classifying twenty women's residence units into a smaller number of meaningful types. They performed a factor analysis on 61 aggregative characteristics, (means, standard deviations and percentages) based on responses of individuals in each of the living units. Seven factors were isolated, the first five of which had clear interpretations. For our purposes, the names Selvin and Hagstrom gave to the factors are unimportant. Rather, we are interested in how they moved from the factor analysis which reduced the 61 variables to a smaller number of dimensions to the classification of the twenty groups on these dimensions. What Selvin and Hagstrom did was simply to categorize each of the groups into "high" or "low" on each of the five factors and, although there were thirty-two combinations possible, they found that the groups actually fell into four types.

The Selvin and Hagstrom paper was a significant pioneering paper, but there were certain problems with their approach. First, much information is thrown away by classifying groups into just two categories; the score quantities on the factors are lost, and the relative positions of the twenty groups on a given factor are compressed. Further, it is not clear that the dimensions derived from a factor analysis of variables produce those dimensions that optimally distinguish among groups.

Yet we agreed with Selvin and Hagstrom's general strategy of looking for a small number of group types based on a large number of variables. We decided to use an approach based on an application of factor analysis which deals with data based on groups rather than correlations among variables. Familiar in the psychometric literature but not widely employed in sociological research, multiple discriminant analysis starts with groups that are defined a priori and attempts to identify in a set of variables a weighted linear combination--a series of discriminant functions--which will maximize the variances between groups and simultaneously minimize the variances within groups. In achieving this outcome, it takes into account variability of group means on the set of variables included in the computation, variation of individual members about the group means on the set of variables, and inter-relationships among the variables. Thus, this technique is able to deal with many groups, many variables, and many individuals within groups. Linear combinations of weighted variables are generated, the weights determined by an analysis of a special table consisting of the sum of squared deviates within groups. The number of linear combinations--the discriminants--number one less than the number of groups. All discriminants are uncorrelated with one another, like factors in the factor analysis technique. A composite mean score for each group on each discriminant function is computed, and then each group can be located in the multidimensional space defined by the discriminants.[9] Multiple discriminant analysis makes it possible, then, to talk about similarity and dissimilarity among groups based on the empirical combination of single group properties into composite dimensions.

Twenty-eight variables went into the multiple discriminant program available from the Statistical Research Laboratory at the University of Michigan.[10] The variables are:

1. Present or past officer?
2. R's agreement with the group's values and interests
3. Does the group change with new members?
4. Perceived opposition to the group at the University
5. Influence on the group from members
6. Effectiveness on major goal
7. Perceived interest of other group members in studying
8. Recruitment because of the values of the group
9. Pressure to participate: based on summary of group let R know to participate and of amount of pressure to participate
10. Outflow: based on summary of influence of group on branches outside U, on faculty, on administration and on students

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[9] Needless to say, this is a truncated description of a highly complex mathematical technique. For more detailed discussion of multiple discriminant analysis, see Anderson (1958); Bryan (1951); Nunnally (1967); Rao (1952); Rulon (1951); Tiedeman (1951). Examples of the use of this technique may be found in Jones and Bock (1960); Loy (1969); Rettig (1964); Thorndike and Hagen (1959).

[10] This program was developed at the Health Sciences Computer Facility at UCLA. It performs multiple discriminant analysis in a stepwise manner. At each step one variable is entered or removed from the set of input variables according to the F-values of each of the groups at that stage. The program computes canonical correlations and coefficients for canonical variables (discriminants) and plots the first two discriminants to give a two-dimensional picture of the dispersion of the groups. Individuals may be classified at any point in the computation into the group they most resemble on the derived functions. For further information, see BMD7M, Stepwise Discriminant Analysis, Statistical Research Laboratory, University of Michigan.

11. Conflict: based on summary of anyone ever expelled from the group, number of factions,and amount of conflict

12. Interests of R--intellectual issues: based on summary of interest in intellectual issues,and in the arts

13. Recruitment--impersonal: based on summary of recruitment to group from seeing posters and from ads in student newspaper

14. Socio-emotional qualities of president: based on summary of descriptions of president as warm (sympathetic, understanding) and friendly (easy to get along with).

15. Mean signed differences between group and R on intellectual interests: based on directional mean difference score on ratings of group and self on intellectual issues and the arts

16. Mean signed differences between group and University on atmosphere: based on directional mean difference score on ratings of group and University on cold vs. warm, tense vs. relaxed.

17. Mean signed difference between group and University on academic-intellectual issues: based on directional mean difference score on ratings of group and University on intellectual vs. unintellectual, academic vs. unacademic

18. Talk over personal problems with friends in group

19. Proportion of five best friends in University who are in group

20. Attraction: based on summary of degree of importance of the group, degree of satisfaction with the group, sense of belonging to group

21. Commitment: based on summary of expects to belong to similar groups after college, willingness to save group as a result of members' distinerest,and willingness to save group because of outside threats.

22. Rank and File Participation: based on summary of continual vs. intermittent contact, attendance of general meetings, attendance of public events of the group, attendance of social events of the group, and average time per week spent on the group

23. Inflow: based on summary of influence on group from branches outside U, from similar groups at U, from faculty and administration, from student government, and from groups outside U

24. Perception of outsiders' awareness of group: based on summary of perception of awareness of group by similar groups at the U, by faculty, and by the general student body

25. Scope of group with respect to University-related activities: based on summary of group concern about five university issues (e.g., honors program, tutoring, varsity sports, womens' hours)

26. Mean signed differences between University and group: based on directional mean differences score on ratings of U and group on 12 value items

27. Mean absolute differences between University and group: based on absolute mean difference score on ratings of U and group on 12 value items

28. Mean signed differences between group and R: based on directional mean difference score on ratings of the group and of the self on 21 interest and value items.

It should be emphasized that none of the variables used in the discriminant analysis deals directly with the groups' interests or with members' values that are directly related to group membership, such as religious beliefs, political beliefs or attitudes toward fraternities and sororities (although difference scores on such items do go into the summary measures 26, 27, and 28). Table VI-21 indicates the percentage of members who could be classified into the groups in which they were indeed members on the basis of all twenty-eight variables.

Members of the political groups--especially those in the left-wing group--are classified correctly in the highest proportions. This finding is related, clearly, to our previous analysis of the interests and values in the four types of groups which concluded that political groups integrated many different value areas. The discriminant analysis tells us the same story, from another perspective: that members of each of the political groups are more uniquely identifiable with their groups on the twenty-eight variables included here than are members of the other groups in the study.

The next clearly identifiable group is the fundamentalist religious group 1. Our analysis of recruitment and homogeneity based on individuals' characteristics and attitudes demonstrated again and again the unique character of the membership of group 1, which is supported by the discriminant analysis.

The groups with the next higher proportions of members classified correctly are the scholarship fraternity 12, group 2, the liberal religious group, and sorority 24, a Jewish group. Members of other fraternities and sororities are not so successfully classified. Nor are members of the third, fourth and fifth religious groups.

The variables with the greatest discriminating power are listed on the right-hand side of Table VI-21, and it should be noted that four of the top five variables have to do with the groups' relations with the University, a question we will be examining in the next section.

TABLE VI-21

Proportion of Group Members Classified Correctly on Basis of 28 Variables in Discriminant Analysis

Religious Groups

Group 1	68%
Group 2	63%
Group 3	47%
Group 4	47%
Group 5	49%

Political Groups

Group 6	93%
Group 7	80%
Group 8	72%
Group 9	74%

Fraternities

Group 10	45%
Group 11	47%
Group 12	67%
Group 14	49%
Group 15	38%
Group 16	54%
Group 17	44%
Group 18	35%
Group 19	36%

Sororities

Group 20	40%
Group 21	28%
Group 23	52%
Group 24	61%
Group 25	57%
Group 26	34%
Group 27	41%
Group 28	53%
Group 29	46%

Most Discriminating Variables

		F Value
V.26	Difference Between University and Group	30.8
V.25	Scope: Group Interest in University Activities	23.9
V.11	Conflict in Group	14.5
V.4	Perceived Opposition to Group at the University	12.7
V.22	Group Influence Within the University	11.1

Turning now to Figure VI-2 which plots all twenty-seven groups on the first two discriminants, we first want to look at the placement of the groups relative to one another in the two-dimensional space.

The groups at the two extremes on the right side of the figure are the fundamentalist group and the leftist group. The liberal religious group is off by itself; the Democratic group is a bit closer to the cluster in the middle, and the remaining religious and political groups are close in to one another. On the left side are the fraternities and sororities.

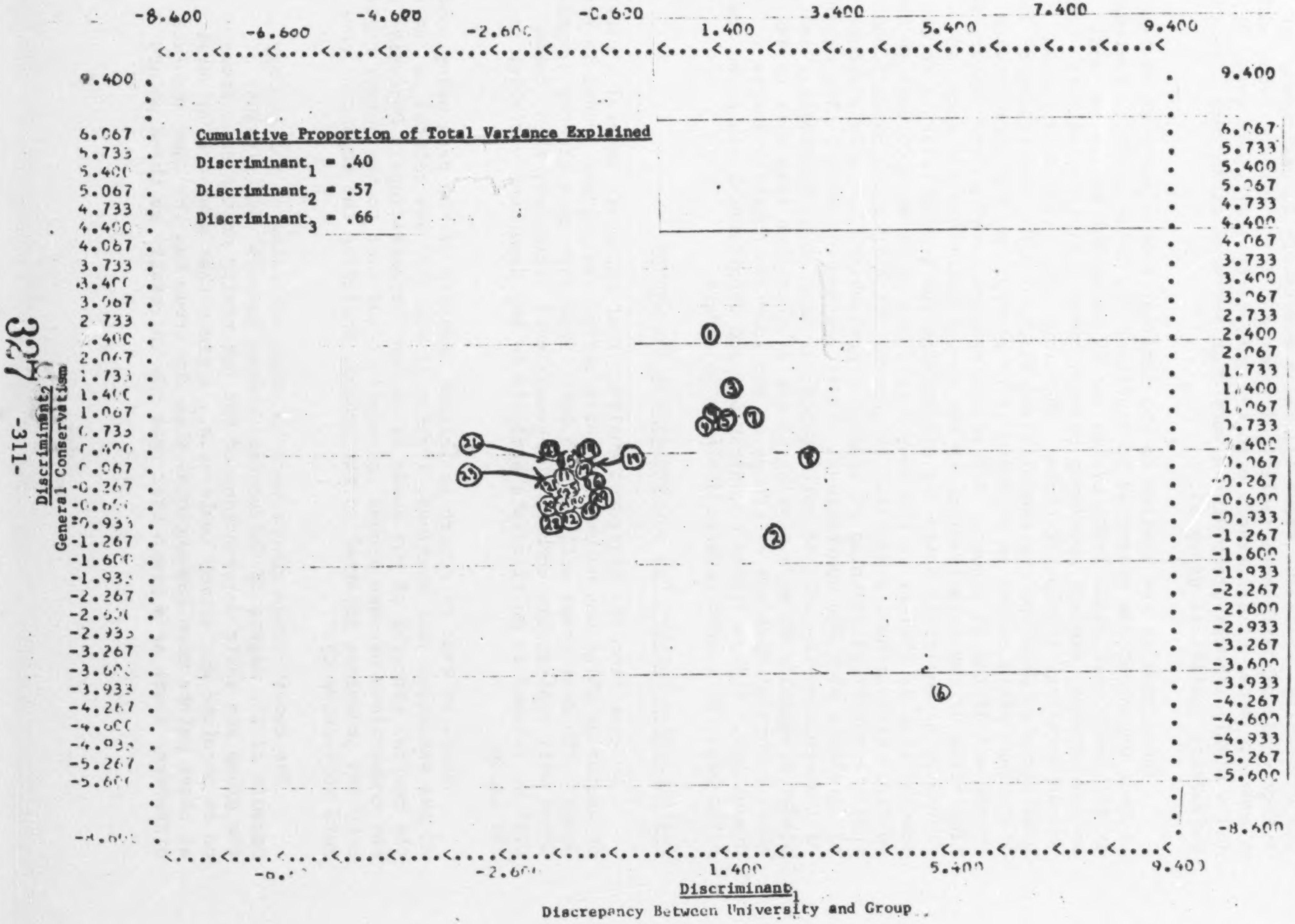
What are the dimensions on which the groups seem so mysteriously located? As in factor analysis, the technique itself does not provide a handy label for the separate dimensions, but they do have loadings of differential weight for each of the twenty-eight variables that are interpretable in a way that is similar to factor loadings. Discriminant_1, which accounts for 40% of the variance, shows the highest loadings on the absolute difference between the University and the group. Discriminant2, accounting for an additional 17% of the variance, shows the highest loading on the signed difference between the University and the group, which indicates the direction of difference, such that the group is, on the average, in either a more conservative, conventional, traditional, etc., direction than the University or in a less conservative, conventional, traditional, etc. direction. (Discriminant_3, not plotted here, accounts for another 9% of the variance and seems to be measuring the personal intensity of involvement).

It is interesting that the range of difference among the fraternities and sororities on the first discriminant is narrower than the range for the second discriminant (indeed, sorority 28 on this overall conservatism variable is almost as liberal as religious group 2). This finding indicates the relative similarity of fraternities and sororities in their low sense of difference from the University, a point we stressed earlier in looking at members' responses to two entirely different questions about disagreements with students and faculty at the University. In the earlier sections of this chapter, and here also, it is important to note the greater differentiation among fraternities and sororities in the direction of their values. It is clear, however, that the discriminant analysis did not succeed very well in separating the fraternities and sororities from one another, an indication that these individual groups are not as "unique" as they say they are. The religious groups and political groups, in general, but to varying degrees in specific cases, show greater discrepancy with the University. Again, we saw this earlier in the two questions on disagreements with faculty and students drawn from the background questionnaire. The range in the second discriminant is very great, strikingly paralleling what we already know about these groups from our previous analyses.

The discriminant analysis, then, is able to empirically define six types of groups on the basis of the twenty-eight variables employed in this analysis: (1) the moderately liberal groups with a low sense of

FIGURE VI-2

First Two Discriminants Based on Twenty-Eight Variables[1]



Group Scores on First Three Discriminants

Religious Groups

	D_1	D_2
1.	+1.24	+2.45
2.	+2.21	-1.21
3.	+1.86	+1.57
4.	+1.25	+ .75
5.	+1.37	+1.12

Political Groups

	D_1	D_2
6.	+5.33	-4.14
7.	+2.04	+1.41
8.	+2.86	+ .33
9.	+1.31	+ .91

Fraternities

	D_1	D_2
10.	- .89	- .65
11.	-1.18	- .47
12.	-1.38	- .79
14.	- .76	+ .40
15.	-1.34	+ .11
16.	- .61	- .28
17.	-1.10	+ .05
18.	-1.05	- .71
19.	- .87	+ .19

Sororities

	D_1	D_2
20.	-1.60	- .76
21.	-1.37	- .20
23.	-1.23	- .11
24.	-1.34	- .82
25.	-1.36	- .23
26.	-1.09	+ .30
27.	-1.32	+ .29
28.	-1.23	-1.13
29.	-1.20	- .22

difference with the University (the fraternities and sororities); (2) the moderately conservative groups with a moderate sense of difference with the University (religious groups 2, 4 and 5; political groups 7 and 9); (3) a highly conservative group with a moderate sense of difference with the University (religious group 1); (4) a moderately liberal group with a high sense of difference (political group 8); (5) a liberal group with a moderate sense of difference with the University (religious group 2); (6) a highly liberal group with a very high sense of difference with the University (political group 6).

These results are similar to the findings from a study of 60 campus student organizations described in Findikyan and Sells (1966). Included in the study were eight fraternities and 10 religious groups, as well as ROTC groups, student governing bodies, honor societies, athletic teams, and departmental scholastic clubs. The Group Dimensions Description Questionnaire developed by Hemphill and Westie (1950), consisting of 150 items that yield scores on thirteen group dimensions, was administered to members of the 60 groups. A distance measure based on the hierarchical clustering of the organizations on the group dimensions was computed, providing an empirical basis for classifying the groups relative to one another that is similar to the two-dimensional plotting of groups in the multiple discriminant analysis. In general, Findikyan and Sells found that the empirical grouping of student organizations had a fair amount of agreement with the conventional classification of groups. The majority of fraternities (as well as ROTC squads, student governing bodies, and athletic teams) were more similar to one another than they were to any other groups of clusters of groups on the thirteen Hemphill-Westie dimensions. The religious organizations and departmental clubs, on the other hand, fell into several different clusters.

Relationships Between the University and the Groups

We know from the foregoing analysis that there are several clusters of variables which can be used to characterize the student groups in our study. The next steps will be to submit these data to a cluster program which will empirically combine the group-level variables; then, these will be related in multivariate analysis to key dependent variables in the study.

Here, we want to report an initial analysis of the data using some of the variables just examined, looking at how they are related to one of the central concerns of our study of student organizations: Objective D, the connections between groups' perceptions and ties to the larger University and processes internal to the groups, including the impact on members (Objective C).

The twenty-seven groups were combined according to the summary measure of the degree of difference between members' descriptions of the group and their descriptions of the University on the same items on an absolute difference scale--i.e., a group that sees the University as three points more conventional than the group has the same absolute difference score as a group that sees the University as three points less conventional. The twenty-seven organizations were divided into high, moderate and low difference groups according to the distribution on this summary measure.

Earlier, it was hypothesized that difference with the University would interact with degree of contact with the University--that high difference groups would show different internal patterns depending on whether they were in high or low contact with the University, and so on along the range of difference between the group and the University. As one measure of contact, we asked members to indicate on a four-point scale the extent to which the faculty and administration influenced their groups. Within each of the University-Group difference types, organizations were classified either as high or low on the mean perceived influence of faculty and administration on the group. The final sets of organizations are shown in Table VI-22. The groupings are interesting in their own right. Thus, for example, the left-wing political group and three sororities fall into the High-High group, while the fundamentalist religious group, the liberal religious group, the evangelical religious group and the right-wing political group fall into the High Difference-Low Influence group.

TABLE VI-22

Final Groupings for Analyses of Relationships Between the University and the Groups

Differences Between the University and the Group	Influence of Faculty and Administration on Group	Groups Included
High	High	Left-Wing Political 3 Sororities
High	Low	Fundamentalist Religious Liberal Religious Evangelical Religious Right-Wing Political
Moderate	High	3 Fraternities 3 Sororities
Moderate	Low	Catholic Religious Methodist Religious Democratic Political Republican Political Fraternity
Low	High	Fraternity 3 Sororities
Low	Low	4 Fraternities

Mean scores for each of these types of groups were computed on a number of items and indices. Table VI-23 summarizes these results and lists for each variable the F value for overall differences in the table as well as two-group comparisons of means which are statistically significant.

On the indices measuring affective integration--attraction, proportion of best friends at the University in the group, and participation--the Low Difference-Low Contact groups are highest. The groups scoring lowest on the affective measures are those in the Moderate Difference-Low Contact category. As we have seen from our prior analysis, value integration operates quite differently from affective integration. On the value items--reported agreement with the group's values, commitment, recruitment because of values, normative pressure--groups in the High Difference-Low Contact type are highest (they are relatively low on affective integration), while those groups which are highest on affective integration (Low-Low groups) come out lowest on value integration. The Low-Low groups seem to be autonomous units within the University scene which offer their members a pleasant, participative environment that does not make great demands in terms of value confrontation. The High-Low groups are ideological in their meaning for members--which may be an effect or cause of high difference with the University. Thus, the distinction between affective and value integration has some diagnostic power, as they relate to groups' ties to the University.

Looking across the variables for the High Difference-Low Contact groups, an interesting pattern emerges, one we have called the "encapsulating" mode. Groups of this type are low in affective integration, low in the pressure they exert on members to participate, show a low scope of interest, experience little conflict and also low effectiveness, allow only a moderate amount of influence from the membership, and produce little sense of change in values and attitudes among their members. What is it that sustains members of such groups? Apparently, it is their sense of ideological loyalty to the group and their sense of difference from the world outside--rarely tested or challenged by contact. These groups have little change potential--either as collectivities or in individual attitudes--mostly because they attract and hold like-minded people who already share the values of the group. They are deviance-maintaining groups only weakly connected to the larger setting.

In contrast, it is interesting to look at the High Difference groups with High Faculty Influence. Like the High-Low groups, they do not develop strong affective bonds, nor do they report much success in reaching their goals. Their value integration is only moderately strong, and their scope of interest is only moderately broad. But they show high levels of ability and instability: conflict is high, responsiveness to members is high, change in members' attitudes is high. One might predict a precarious future for such groups, and a constantly changing character. (Indeed, one of these groups no longer exists in the form we found it when we collected our data).

TABLE VI-23

Relationships Between Difference Between University and Group, Within High and Low Faculty and Administration Influence on Group, and Selected Internal Group Variables (Mean Values)

	Difference Between University and Group					
	High		Moderate		Low	
	1 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	2 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group	3 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	4 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group	5 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	6 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group
Attraction (6=high attraction)	3.3	2.7	4.0	2.3	3.3	3.6
N[1] -	4	4	6	5	4	4
	F = 3.57, p = < .05		Significant t-test comparisons:		2:3; 3:4; 3:6; 4:6	
Proportion Best Friends in Group (9=high proportion)	4.8	3.5	5.9	3.5	5.8	6.1
N	4	4	6	5	4	4
	F = 3.62, p = < .05		Significant t-test comparisons:		2:3; 2:6; 3:4; 4:6	
Rank and File **Participation** (24=high participation)	16.5	-	17.9	12.6	16.1	18.5
N	2	-	6	4	4	4
	F = 3.02, p = < .05		Significant t-test comparisons:		3:4; 5:6	
Reported Agreement **with Group** (4=high agreement)	2.6	3.2	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.3
N	4	4	6	5	4	4
	F = 4.64, p = < .01		Significant t-test comparisons:		1:2;1:6;2:3;2:5;2:6;3:6;4:6	

TABLE VI-23 (cont)

Relationships Between Difference Between University and Group, Within High and Low Faculty and Administration Influence on Group, and Selected Internal Group Variables (Mean Values)

	Difference Between University and Group					
	High		Moderate		Low	
	1 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	2 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group	3 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	4 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group	5 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	6 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group
Commitment (12=high commitment)	8.5	9.4	8.2	8.4	6.3	7.8
N	4	4	6	5	4	4
	F = 4.46, p = < .01	Significant t-test comparisons: 1:5; 2:5; 2:6; 3:5; 4:5				
Recruitment Because of Values (1=yes, 0=no)	.71	.83	.57	.78	.54	.47
N	4	4	6	5	4	4
	F = 2.33, p = NS	Significant t-test comparisons: 2:3; 3:4; 4:6				
Normative Pressure on Values (15=high pressure)	8.2	8.8	9.3	8.1	7.0	7.9
N	4	4	6	5	4	4
	F = 1.47, p = NS	Significant t-test comparisons: 1:3; 3:4; 3:5; 3:6				
Pressure to Participate (8=high pressure)	4.9	3.7	5.9	3.8	5.2	5.4
N	4	4	6	5	4	4
	F = 5.37, p = < .01	Significant t-test comparisons: 2:3;2:5;2:6;3:4;3:5;4:5;4:6				

TABLE VI-23 (cont)

Relationships Between Difference Between University and Group, Within High and Low Faculty and Administration Influence on Group, and Selected Internal Group Variables (Mean Values)

	Difference Between University and Group					
	High		Moderate		Low	
	1 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	2 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group	3 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	4 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group	5 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	6 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group
Scope of Group: University-Related Activities (15=high scope)	10.7	6.4	11.4	7.2	11.6	10.6
N	3	4	6	5	4	4
	F = 10.36, p = < .01		Significant t-test comparisons:		1:2;1:4;2:3;2:5;2:6; 3:4;4:5;4:6;5:6	
Interests of Group: Intellectual (8=high interest)	5.5	5.5	5.0	4.6	6.0	4.1
N	4	4	6	5	4	4
	F = 4.36, p = < .01		Significant t-test comparisons:		1:6; 2:6; 3:6; 5:6	
Conflict (11=high conflict)	6.0	2.7	4.3	4.2	4.9	5.0
N	3	3	6	4	4	4
	F = 1.62, p = NS		Significant t-test comparisons:		1:2; 2:3; 2:5	
Effectiveness (6=high effectiveness)	4.2	4.1	5.0	4.6	5.0	4.8
N	3	3	6	4	4	4
	F = 2.13, p = NS		Significant t-test comparisons:		2:3; 2:6; 3:4; 4:5	

TABLE VI-23 (cont)

Relationships Between Difference Between University and Group, Within High and Low Faculty and Administration Influence on Group, and Selected Internal Group Variables (Mean Values)

	Difference Between University and Group					
	High		Moderate		Low	
	1 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	2 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group	3 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	4 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group	5 High Faculty Administration Influence on Group	6 Low Faculty Administration Influence on Group
Influence on Group from Members (3=high influence)	2.1	1.8	2.0	1.5	2.1	1.8
N	4	3	6	5	4	4
	F = 6.67, p = < .01		Significant t-test comparisons: 1:2; 1:4; 2:5; 4:5; 5:6			
Self-Perceived Change (6=high perceived change)	2.9	2.4	2.6	2.5	2.9	2.6
N	4	4	6	5	4	4
	F = .65, p = NS					

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[1] N's are number of groups in each type. Tests of significance refer to differences between means of the six group types. When number of respondents in a group was too small for a given variable, the group was eliminated from consideration on that variable.

On some of the variables, the influence of faculty and administration on the group seems to be the critical dimension, regardless of the difference between group and University. Looking at the Low Difference groups, we see that the High Influence type, like the High-High type we just examined, also shows high responsiveness to members and high change in members' attitudes as a result of the group. The Low-Low group, like the High-Low group, shows low to moderate levels on these variables. The Low-Low and Low-High groups, earlier termed "conformity" and "cooperation" groups respectively, perform their roles in different ways: the Low-High groups operate through their scope of interest in the University and in intellectual issues and the high morale that comes from a sense of effectiveness. The Low-Low groups may work via the strong affective ties of members to the group combined with a high internal pressure on members to participate (but not to share values). Neither of these types of groups, perhaps because they do not see themselves set against the larger University, develop a strong ideological integration.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter reports the conceptual mainsprings and first findings from the study of student organizations that developed out of our broader study. Deriving initially from a desire to broaden the scope of the general study into student subcultures at the University as a way of understanding the impact of the larger institutional setting on individuals and friendship groups, the student organization study made the strategic decision to enter student subcultures through formal organizations. Three types of organizations were chosen because they were concerned with crucial value and interpersonal concerns of young people during the college years: religious groups, political groups, fraternities and sororities. Within each type, an attempt was made to choose a diverse set of groups so as to a) maximize the possibility of tapping into different subcultures, b) allow the unfolding of different styles of collective adaptation to the University setting, as well as a wide range of student values and attitudes, c) document the diversity of groups on a large University campus, even within the same nominal types.

Twenty-nine groups were eventually included in the study: five religious groups, four political groups, ten fraternities and ten sororities. Questionnaires were administered or mailed in the spring of 1966 and the following fall. Close to two-thirds of the almost 3,000 students listed as members of the groups returned some usable information, yielding a total working N of 1889 with some additional people drawn from the sample responding to the larger study. Cooperation was not evenly distributed. The religious groups, (with the exception of a loosely-organized liberal discussion group) and several of the fraternities and sororities were most cooperative. The lowest returns came from the liberal religious group, a left-wing political group, a Democratic group, two fraternities and one sorority. Systematic bias in the characteristics of the responders vs. the non-responders seems to have operated only in the left-wing political group and, to a lesser degree, in one of the fraternities.

In these two groups, it appears that the most active members were less likely to respond than the less active or newer members. In general, the respondents represent a wide range of group participation, an outcome we took great pains to accomplish.

The student organization study stems both from the social psychological tradition which underlies much of the larger study, and from a sociological approach to complex organizations. Concepts, and later the variables and higher-order dimensions chosen for analysis, derive from this double focus. Thus, social psychological variables, such as attraction, commitment, and normative pressure, become important ways of characterizing groups. More sociological variables such as conflict, effectiveness, and visibility, also serve to range the groups vis-a-vis one another. One of the most crucial aspects of the student organization study derives from its dual social psychological and social structural emphasis: the point is made throughout the research endeavor that groups' relationships with the larger University environment condition internal processes and impacts on members, and vice versa. What happens inside the group is significantly connected with what happens in the group's transactions with the world outside its boundaries.

There are four major objectives of the study: (A) to develop a way of characterizing and comparing the groups--in their values, members' qualities, structural features--as both a descriptive task and an analytic task required by the other objectives: (B) to examine the recruitment patterns and characteristics of members in terms of homogeneity and selectivity; (C) to trace the impacts of the groups on their members; (D) to trace the impacts of the groups in the larger University, and the relations between these and impacts on members.

The five sets of analyses reported in this chapter center on Objectives A, B, and D. An examination of the background, attitudes and University experiences of members of the different student organizations (Objective B), documented the consistently high status of fraternity and sorority members, but the lower degree of homogeneity in academic and other experiences at the University. Aside from a scholarship fraternity and a sorority whose members came from high status conservative families but who appeared to become unusually liberal politically and open psychologically, the fraternities and sororities were not easily distinguishable across the different items. Religious and political groups were more sharply etched in the data, especially the fundamentalist religious group with a large cluster of low-status, small-town, traditional students in pre-professional curricula and very low responsiveness to the University and, at the other extreme, a left-wing political group with a large concentration of big-city, liberal students in nonprofessional curricula with a very great responsiveness to the University.

The next set of analyses, which looked at the inter-relationships of the questions asked in the group questionnaire at both the individual level and the group level, pointed to the importance of distinguishing between affective and value integration. Affective items did not relate highly to value items; each implied different group processes and responses from the membership. An analysis of interest and value items as applied both to the self and to the group indicated the significance of many different value and interest areas to political groups, where a large number of items formed a dense network of inter-relationships. This was not true for fraternities especially, where only social attitudes and sexual standards formed what might be called a "group attitude." Religious groups also appeared to keep to a fairly narrow base centered on religious values. Sororities, which seemed more responsive than fraternities in the first analysis, also showed greater integration of different value areas in this analysis.

Following the logic of developing ways of comparing the groups, a multiple discriminant analysis again demonstrated the similarity of the fraternities and sororities, at least when they were included in an analysis with the religious and political groups. Religious group 1 and political group 6, the fundamentalist group and the left-wing group respectively, emerged on opposite ends of the graph of the first two discriminating multivariate dimensions. The most important variables in distinguishing among the groups were those which had to do with the groups' relations with the University (Discriminant 1 had high loadings on measures of discrepancy with the University; Discriminant 2 had high loadings on measures which indicated the group's overall conservatism or liberalism on a number of areas compared to the University).

This led us directly to examine the connections between different kinds of relationships with the University and internal group processes. The groups were classified into those with high, moderate or low difference with the University and cross-cut by high or low contact with faculty and administration. Groups with a high sense of difference but little contact with the faculty or administration displayed an "encapsulating" pattern: low affective integration, low scope of interest, little conflict, low effectiveness, little sense of impact on the group from members and little change in attitudes as a result of group membership, but very high value integration. Groups with a high sense of difference but high contact were more alive: conflict was high in these groups, responsiveness to members was high, change in members as a result of the group was dramatic. This is almost a thumbnail sketch of the left-wing political group, one of the groups included in the High Difference-High Contact type. It should come as no surprise that the High Difference-Low Contact type includes the fundamentalist religious group.

PART THREE

A number of the analyses conducted on the data gathered in this study were undertaken as doctoral dissertations. These are listed and described briefly in Appendix A. Chapters VII and VIII present the major findings of two of these dissertations. They focus on a critical issue of the college years, the formation of a student's occupational and career choice -- Chapter VII for the men and Chapter VIII for the women. They illustrate the general orientation of the overall study in considering the predispositional determinants of this student outcome (background, value, and personality variables) as well as the influences of the college experience. In a very general sense the findings of the two chapters are similar in suggesting the importance of peers and, to some extent, faculty. But mainly they point up the differences in the issues that are critical to the occupational decisions of men and women. Particularly highlighted are some of the special issues and problems for intellectual women attempting to make a major occupational commitment.

CHAPTER VII

Occupational Value Orientations and the Career Decision Among Men Students

by Jeylan Mortimer

The vocational decision among men college students represents a particularly interesting area to study, since it reflects the powerful influence of both familial background and college experiences. It is thus an area that can illuminate the interplay and interaction of these two sets of influences.

Our analysis of vocational choice among the men students focused on the social origins of occupational values and the career choices which reflect them. Two general questions guided the direction of the analysis: (1) What characteristics of the family are associated with the development of distinct occupational value orientations and career choices? (2) To what extent does the college experience modify the work values and occupational choices developed earlier, functioning to channel students toward their later adult careers?

The analysis focused on the men students in the study. Some of the analyses drawn are the data from the over 2,000 men who filled out the freshman questionnaires during freshman orientation in 1962 and 1963; others draw on the questionnaires that over 600 of these same students filled out as seniors four years later; still other analyses draw on both freshman and senior data for a longitudinal analysis of change in career choice.

Much previous research on occupational choice has focused on the socio-economic status characteristics of the family as the dominant area of concern. A foremost example is the monumental study of intergenerational occupational movements in the American labor force conducted by Blau and Duncan (1967). It is generally recognized that the family of origin can facilitate or hinder social mobility directly through differential provision of educational and occupational advantages, or more indirectly, by the socialization of values pertaining to achievement. However, a guiding hypothesis of the present research is that the family is also instrumental in imparting orientations toward the following occupational values which motivate students toward the attainment of different kinds of careers: (a) the importance of self-direction in work; (b) the rewards that are considered of greatest importance, e.g., the extrinsic rewards of money, status, and security vs. the intrinsic rewards oriented toward people and self-expression; (c) preferences for working primarily with people, data, or things; and (d) attitudes concerning the centrality of occupation as a major life concern (vs. the family, leisure and expressive activities, community and social concerns, etc.)

The primary concern of the psychologically oriented research on this subject has been to discover the linkages between such dimensions as interests, values, personality types, and the self-concept, on the one hand, and occupational choice, on the other.[1] Once such relationships are found, occupational choice, success, or the characteristics of the career pattern are predicted on the basis of these traits. In some research, psychological profiles have been constructed for adult members of occupational groups. Similarity between student characteristics and those of the adult criterion sample is then used to predict career choice.

A conspicuous theoretical shortcoming in much of this research is the failure to attend to the sources of those personality characteristics which are successful in predicting career choice.[2] In the literature which is addressed to this developmental problem, there is a notable lack of attention given to relevant sociological variables.[3] While the present research is also concerned with value orientations, an attempt is made to discover the patterns of relationship between work values and some crucial sociological characteristics: the nature of the father's occupation, considered as a source of occupational values which are transmitted to sons; the family's social status; and its religious and ethnic background.

Prior studies have revealed that the majority of students change their occupational choices while in college (Davis, 1965), and that occupationally relevant value changes do occur (Feldman & Newcomb, 1969). However, there has been little research effort directed toward determining which aspects of the college experience are of importance in facilitating change.[4] In studying the effects of college on occupational values and choices, many facets of college life could have been chosen for study. In this research we have focused on three areas that have received considerable attention in discussions of influences on career choice: (a) faculty career direction; (b) student identification with campus subcultures; and (c) differential ability and performance levels, as measured by Scholastic Aptitude Test scores and grades.

Occupational Classification

Many of the analyses and conclusions concerning work values that will be presented in this chapter are based on direct questions asked of the respondents. However, an attempt was also made to discover whether career choice could be viewed as an indicator of concern with the varying opportunities and rewards which different kinds of work allow. The merit of this kind of classification lies in its ability to predict differential patterns of values in students.

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[1] Much of this research is reviewed in Holland (1964).

[2] For an interesting discussion of this issue, see Borow (1964).

[3] See, for example, Roe (1964), Ginzberg et. al. (1951) and Super (1963).

[4] The research in this area which does exist is largely concerned with the effects of academic performance as a source of aspiration or an inducer of change. cf. Hind and Wirth (1969) and Davis (1966).

Therefore, freshman and senior career choices, as well as the occupations of the fathers, were coded in a manner designed to reflect the varying value orientations thought to be inherent in given areas of work. The traditional professions of medicine, law, and dentistry were separated from occupations in business, government, education, and the arts. Businessmen were divided by work function (separating those occupations primarily concerned with people vs. those relating to data or things) and by employment status (self-employed vs. employment by another individual or a firm.) The functional distinction for businessmen is based on extensive job analysis performed by the Department of Labor and reported in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (1965). Thus, for the greater part of the analysis, the following occupational code categories were used:

1. Medicine
2. Dentistry
3. Law
4. People-oriented business occupations, self-employed. (Most self-employed proprietors are included in this group.)
5. Business occupations focused on data or things, self-employed. (e.g., self-employed accountants, architects, craftsmen, etc.)
6. People-oriented business occupations, not self-employed. (e.g., managers, supervisors, etc.)
7. Business occupations focused on data or things, not self-employed (e.g., accountants, auditors, craftsmen, etc.)
8. Scientists
9. Government employees
10. Educators below the four-year college level. (This category includes teachers and administrators).
11. College professors and administrators
12. Artists, writers, and entertainers
13. Other

The rather high status origins of our university sample permitted these distinctions within a rather limited status range. This somewhat unique mode of occupational classification, transcending the usual distinctions based on prestige alone, proved to be fruitful in accounting for the variance in values of students. In addition, in the analysis of the effects of the father's occupation on student values and career choices, it aided the discovery of different patterns of family influence.

The Effects of Family Background on Occupational Choice

Father's Occupation

The nature of the father's occupation was found to exert a significant effect upon the kinds of career choices made by their sons. An examination of Tables VII-1 and VII-2 reveals that this effect is largely determined by trends toward occupational inheritance or self-selection, and that these tendencies are as strong at the end of the college years as they are at the beginning.

In Table VII-3, the percentage of sons who choose their father's occupations is divided by the proportion of the entire sample who select the same occupations. A ratio of 1.0 indicates that there is no tendency toward self-selection; the likelihood of choosing a given occupation is not increased if it is the career of one's father. The fact that all but two of these ratios are greater than 1.0, shows that there is a strong tendency among these students to choose their father's occupations. Many of these ratios increase during the four year time period, signifying both a movement toward one's father's occupation, and a greater tendency on the part of those choosing the occupations of their fathers to maintain their initial choice.

A smallest space analysis was performed to investigate the kinds of occupational origins that lead to similar career destinations in the next generation. In this nonmetric technique, a data matrix is represented by a configuration of points in the smallest possible Euclidean space.[5]

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[5] Distances between points can be based on a variety of quantitative measures. In this case dissimilarity scores have been used which reflect the difference between any two occupational origin groups in sons' vocational choice distributions. These scores are computed by dividing the absolute sum of the differences between corresponding entries in each pair of distributions by two. The resulting score represents the proportion of sons' choices which would have to be transferred from one origin group to the other to make the two distributions identical. The computation of dissimilarity scores comparing the distribution of sons' distinations for all pairs of occupational origin groups results in a square matrix of scores. This matrix constitutes the computer program input. For a further discussion of the dissimilarity indices and an example of their use, see Laumann (1969).

The coefficient of alienation, a measure of goodness of fit, becomes smaller as the solution more accurately represents the data source. In this analysis of distances between fathers' occupations, the coefficients for the best 2-space and 3-space solutions are .122 and .056 respectively.

In Figure VII-1, the distribution of the choices of artists' sons has been omitted from the matrix since the inclusion of this small and rather divergent group tends to force the other occupations together in the space, thus obscuring the distances between them which otherwise emerge.

For a description of the smallest space analysis, see Guttman (1968) and Lingoes (1965). For further empirical examples of the use of this technique, see Laumann and Guttman (1969 and Blau and Duncan (1967).

TABLE VII-1

Relationship Between Father's Occupation and Son's Freshman Occupational Choices

		Father's Occupation												
Son's Freshman Occupational Choice	All	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Medicine	29%	67%	65%	25%	30%	36%	25%	25%	48%	10%	20%	16%	15%	33%
2. Dentistry	4	0	16	2	3	4	4	5	6	2	6	2	5	2
3. Law	14	6	7	38	15	8	16	10	6	16	9	10	15	13
4. SE Business – People	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5. SE Business – Data, things	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6. Business-People	8	3	0	5	12	7	10	6	0	4	7	4	0	4
7. Business-Data, things	4	2	0	1	3	7	4	6	0	0	6	8	0	4
8. Science	17	10	6	13	14	16	14	22	16	33	13	16	10	22
9. Government	6	3	0	3	6	6	7	6	3	10	15	14	5	7
10. Educators	5	3	3	1	4	7	5	7	15	11	7	6	10	3
11. College professors	3	3	0	1	2	3	3	3	0	2	9	8	5	0
12. Artists	4	2	3	6	3	4	6	3	3	5	6	2	15	6
13. Other	5	1	0	5	4	1	6	7	3	7	2	14	20	6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	1981	112	31	85	455	73	486	420	33	93	54	50	20	69

$Chi^2 = 407.32$ df = 144 $p < .001$

TABLE VII-2

Relationship Between Father's Occupation and Son's Senior Occupational Choices

Son's Senior Occupational Choice	All	Father's Occupation 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Medicine	17%	61%	55%	23%	16%	14%	14%	11%	42%	0%	12%	16%	25%	30%
2. Dentistry	3	0	18	3	1	4	4	5	0	0	4	5	0	0
3. Law	12	4	0	37	17	14	12	8	0	10	0	5	0	15
4. SE Business-People	3	0	0	3	6	9	2	2	8	0	0	0	0	5
5. SE Business-Data, things	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
6. Business-People	13	4	5	16	14	19	11	8	13	12	5	0	25	5
7. Business-Data, things	8	0	0	6	6	9	6	14	0	7	17	11	25	5
8. Science	5	4	0	0	3	4	4	9	8	6	13	5	0	0
9. Government	6	0	0	6	3	0	6	9	0	13	0	5	0	15
10. Educators	7	8	0	3	5	9	8	8	8	0	0	21	0	5
11. College Professors	16	11	18	11	17	14	15	15	8	32	21	21	0	0
12. Artists	3	4	0	0	4	0	3	1	8	6	3	5	0	5
13. Other	6	4	9	3	4	9	6	4	10	13	13	1	25	15
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	683	26	11	35	155	22	180	144	12	31	24	19	4	20

Chi^2 = 229.60 df = 144 P = <.001

TABLE VII-3

Ratios of Occupational Self-Selection in the Freshman and the Senior Year

	Occupation	Freshman Year	Senior Year
1.	Medicine	2.3*	3.6
2.	Dentistry	4.3	5.4
3.	Law	2.7	3.0
4.	SE Business-People	3.5	2.0
5.	SE Business-Data, things	0.0	0.0
6.	Business-People	1.3	1.4
7.	Business-Data, things	1.5	1.8
8.	Science	.9	1.7
9.	Government	1.5	2.2
10.	Education (below the college level)	1.4	0.0
11.	College Professors	2.9	1.3
12.	Artists	3.6	0.0
13.	Other	1.1	2.5

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*Ratio represents the percentage of sons who choose their father's occupation divided by the proportion of the entire sample who select the same occupation.

In Figure VII-1, distances between father's occupations are determined by the extent of similarity in the distribution of their sons choices. Therefore, fathers' occupations are close if their sons indicate a similar pattern of vocational preferences. As the relative positions in the space are similar for both time periods, only the matrix describing the senior occupational distribution is shown. (The correlation of the distances between points in the 3-dimensional space at the freshman and the senior year is .83.) Because the positions are not changed substantially when another dimension is added, and because the 2-space solution represents a fairly good fit to the data (coefficient of alienation=.122), only the two dimensional solution is discussed here.

In viewing the space, it is of interest to note the clusters of occupational groups which emerge: business occupations in the center, surrounded by the health professions and scientists on the far right, educators below the businessmen, law above them, and occupations in government on the far left. A close examination of the bivariate table from which the space is derived (Table VII-2) reveals the sources of these clusters.[6] It is evident that the positioning of occupations in the space follows a functional, rather than a prestige dimension. (The numbers near each point indicate the average prestige scores of occupations in a given code category, using the occupational prestige code based on NORC research conducted by Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi (forthcoming). The relative positions of occupational groups along the horizontal axis indicates a clear entrepreneurial-bureaucratic dimension. The dotted line drawn obliquely to this axis separates the occupations characterized by extrinsic and intrinsic rewards.

In summary, the smallest space analysis shows that characteristically similar work environments (bureaucratic vs. entrepreneurial) and reward values (extrinsic vs. intrinsic) generate closer positions in the space, signifying similarity in sons' occupational destinations. This finding, combined with the relatively high ratios of self-selection reported earlier, lends some initial support to the hypothesis that values relating to these dimensions, i.e., self-direction and occupational reward values, may be transmitted from father to son, and later reflected in different patterns of intergenerational occupational movements.

Other Background Characteristics

An investigation of the effects of other sociologically relevant characteristics (the prestige related variables of education and income, and religion) on occupational choices produced several interesting findings. When the father's educational level is cross-tabulated with student occupational choice, significant differences emerge at

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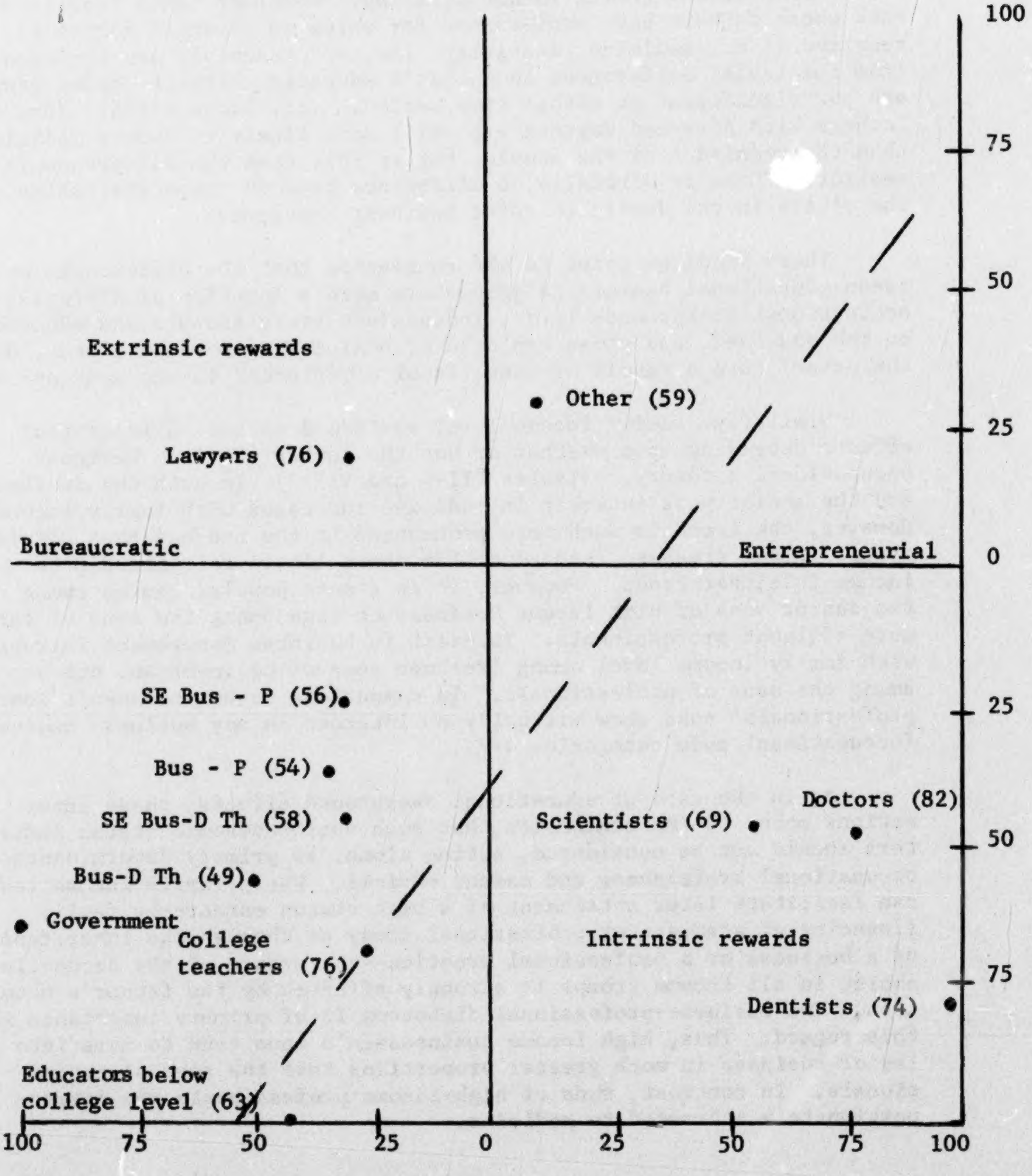
[6] For example, the propensity to choose medicine, clearly differs between the various clusters.

FIGURE VII-1

Smallest space analysis of the distances between fathers' occupations
with respect to similarity of sons' choices
2 dimensional solution, senior data
(arts omitted from matrix)
Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation = .122 in 20 iterations



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*Numbers in the figure indicate the average prestige scores of occupations in the given code category.

both time periods. However, somewhat greater differences are apparent among the seniors (Table VII-4). The desire to pursue a senior medical choice seems to be enchanced when the father is educated to the advanced degree level. In this background group there is some aversion to business management. (cf. Table VII-4, occupational category 6) However, although Table VII-4 reveals a statistically significant difference, it might be noted that the relationships between father's education and son's occupational choice is not striking. Moreover, when those students whose fathers have professions for which an advanced degree is required (i.e., medicine, dentistry, law, and teaching) are excluded from the table, differences in father's education between choice groups are not significant at either time period. (cf. Table VII-5) Sons of fathers with advanced degrees are still more likely to choose medicine than the remainder of the sample, but in this case the difference is smaller. There is virtually no difference between these statistics and the others in the desire to enter business management.

These findings point to the conclusion that the differences between educational background groups are more a function of differing occupational backgrounds (i.e., independent professionals and educators on the one hand, and those employed by business, government, etc., on the other) than a result of educational differences in the home per se.

Similarly, family income level was found to have differential effects depending upon whether or not the father was in a business occupational category. (Tables VII-6 and VII-7) In both the freshman and the senior year interest in medicine increases with family income. However, the trend is much more pronounced in the non-business origin group. Among freshmen, choice of law shows little relationship to income in either group. However, it is a more popular choice among the senior sons of high income businessmen than among the sons of the more affluent professionals. Interest in business management increases with family income level among freshmen sons of businessmen, but not among the sons of professionals. In comparison to businessmen's sons, professionals' sons show virtually no interest in any business choice (occupational code categories 4-7).

As in the case of educational background effects, these interactions point to the conclusion that such socio-economic status indicators should not be considered, acting alone, as primary determinants of occupational preferences and career choices. While family income level can facilitate later attainment of a high status career--by family financing of graduate or professional study or through the inheritance of a business or a professional practice--the nature of the occupational choice in all income groups is strongly affected by the father's occupation. The business-professional dichotomy is of primary importance in this regard. Thus, high income businessmen's sons tend to move into law or business in much greater proportions than the sons of professionals. In contrast, sons of high-income professionals are disproportionately attracted to medicine.

TABLE VII-4

Relationship Between Father's Education and Son's Senior Occupational Choices

Son's Senior Occupational Choices	Father's Education						
	All	Less Than High School	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Professional or Graduate Degree
1. Medicine	19%	26%	4%	14%	13%	14%	30%
2. Dentistry	3	0	0	3	2	3	6
3. Law	12	11	11	9	14	15	11
4. SE Business-People	3	0	4	0	3	5	3
5. SE Business-Data, things	1	0	0	3	1	2	0
6. Business-People	13	11	15	15	13	17	9
7. Business-Data, things	5	5	12	6	4	4	5
8. Science	5	0	4	3	6	6	5
9. Government	6	11	0	11	7	5	3
10. Educators	7	11	23	10	6	5	4
11. College Professors	17	16	23	21	20	13	16
12. Artists	3	0	0	2	3	5	3
13. Other	6	9	4	3	8	6	5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	544	19	26	94	115	129	161

$\text{Chi}^2 = 82.896$ df = 60 P = .05

TABLE VII-5

Relationship Between Father's Education and Son's Senior Occupational Choices
(Sons of doctors, dentists, lawyers, and educators at and below the college level are excluded)

		Father's Education					
Son's Senior Occupational Choices	All	Less Than High School	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Professional or Graduate Degree
1. Medicine	15%	26%	4%	14%	13%	14%	21%
2. Dentistry	3	0	0	3	2	2	7
3. Law	12	11	11	9	14	16	10
4. SE Business-People	3	0	4	0	3	6	5
5. SE Business-Data,things	2	0	0	3	1	2	0
6. Business-People	14	11	15	15	12	17	13
7. Business-Data,things	5	5	12	6	4	2	6
8. Science	5	0	4	3	6	5	7
9. Government	7	11	0	11	7	5	5
10. Educators	7	11	23	10	6	5	2
11. College Professors	17	16	23	21	20	13	13
12. Artists	3	0	0	2	4	6	2
13. Other	7	9	4	3	8	7	9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	455	19	26	94	113	120	83

$Chi^2 = 66.52$ df = 60 P = NS

TABLE VII-6

Relationship Between Family Income and Son's Freshman Occupational Choices

Son's Freshman Occupational Choices	Family Income Less Than $4,000	$4,000 to $7,499	$7,500 to $9,999	$10,000 to $14,999	$15,000 to $19,999	$20,000 and Over
1. Medicine	25% * 0% *	21% 20%	25% 20%	26% 25%	30% 45%	32% 47%
2. Dentistry	3 0	4 0	5 4	5 5	3 2	2 3
3. Law	16 0	12 11	13 13	13 13	17 16	16 18
4. SE Business-People	0 0	0 0	1 0	0 0	0 0	4 0
5. SE Business-Data,things	0 0	0 0	1 0	1 0	0 0	0 0
6. Business-People	0 11	4 7	7 2	8 5	12 5	17 2
7. Business-Data,things	0 0	6 0	4 7	5 2	3 2	3 2
8. Science	34 22	24 21	21 13	13 22	15 15	9 11
9. Government	6 22	5 25	6 20	7 5	8 5	6 4
10. Educators	10 11	10 9	4 9	6 7	6 1	0 3
11. College Professors	0 0	4 0	2 4	3 7	2 0	2 2
12. Artists	0 11	3 5	5 4	5 4	3 5	5 4
13. Other	6 23	7 2	6 4	8 5	1 4	4 4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N 1115 N 426	32 9	168 45	204 46	338 123	163 84	221 126

* Upper entries refer to the sons of businessmen; lower entries refer to the rest of the sample

Upper Entries: Chi^2 = 128.50 df = 60 P = .001

Lower Entries: Chi^2 = 94.35 df = 60 P = .01

TABLE VII-7

Relationship Between Family Income and Son's Senior Occupational Choices

	Family Income					
Son's Senior Occupational Choices	Less Than $4,000	$4,000 to $7,499	$7,500 to $9,999	$10,000 to $14,999	$15,000 to $19,999	$20,000 and Over
1. Medicine	11% *	14%	18%	8%	12%	21%
	0% *	33%	12%	17%	41%	53%
2. Dentistry	0	5	1	6	3	1
	0	0	0	7	4	0
3. Law	11	7	8	6	30	19
	0	0	23	2	11	15
4. SE-Business-People	0	0	3	3	3	10
	0	0	0	0	0	5
5. SE Business-Data,things	0	0	1	4	0	0
	0	0	0	0	0	0
6. Business-People	22	10	9	16	14	22
	0	11	12	13	0	5
7. Business-Data,things	11	9	9	2	3	3
	50	11	18	4	0	0
8. Science	0	10	4	6	6	2
	0	0	6	4	4	5
9. Government	0	3	10	8	5	4
	0	11	0	2	4	5
10. Educators	11	11	7	10	3	6
	0	0	0	9	4	3
11. College Educators	11	25	23	19	14	6
	0	22	6	36	18	5
12. Artists	0	2	3	2	5	3
	50	11	12	0	7	3
13. Other	23	4	4	10	2	3
	0	1	11	6	7	1
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	9	57	74	124	64	68
N	2	9	17	47	27	40

* Upper entries refer to the sons of businessmen; lower entries refer to the rest of the sample

Upper Entries: Chi^2 = 99.81 df = 60 P = .001

Lower Entries: Chi^2 = 88.6 df = 55 P = .01

While the generally high level of freshman interest in medicine tends to obscure differences which emerge later, even during the freshman year some religious differences are apparent. Table VII-8 reveals that Jews differ from Gentiles in their strong propensity toward medicine. By the senior year, this difference has greatly increased.(Table VII-9). Among the seniors, Jews also show a slightly greater interest in college teaching. All in all, a little more than half of the Jewish men who are seniors choose either medicine or college teaching. In contrast, 30% of Protestants and 20% of Catholics choose these two professions. And, in comparison to the other groups, Jews show an aversion to teaching below the college level and to employment inbusiness organizations; in the latter categories, only 8 percent of the Jewish seniors expect to work in a business organization in contrast to 24% of the Protestants and 30% of the Catholics.

The distribution of Protestant and Catholic career choices in the freshman year is almost identical. Because only 51 Catholics are included in the longitudinal sample, any observations pertaining to senior Protestant-Catholic differences are highly tentative. However, Catholics do show somewhat greater interest than Protestants in law and business management, and a lesser tendency to choose medicine at this time. In general, these religious differences parallel those found in the study by Davis (1965).

The Effects of Family Background on Occupational Values

Autonomy Values

As demonstrated earlier by the smallest space analysis, a clear entrepreneurial-bureaucratic dimension emerges when fathers' occupations are aligned with respect to similarity in their sons' choices. In view of this result, it is of interest to note that student values pertaining to autonomy and self-direction are also related to the occupational environments of their fathers. The measure of autonomy used here is based on the following question:

> If you could have your own choice in the matter, which of the following would you prefer? (check one)
>
> To work on my own, with nobody over me and nobody under me.
>
> To be 'top man' in a company or organization; to have the major decisions and responsibilities.
>
> To have a job in a company or organization without the major responsibilities.

In Table VII-10, fathers' occupations are ranked by the proportion of sons in each origin group who choose these options. This table indicates that sons desire to achieve in their own careers the kind of

TABLE VII-8

Relationship Between Religious Background and Son's Freshman Occupational Choice

Son's Freshman Occupational Choice	Religious Background		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jew
Medicine	24%	29%	37%
Dentistry	4	6	2
Law	13	15	15
SE Business-People	1	1	2
SE Business-Data, things	1	0	0
Business-People	8	9	6
Business-Data, things	4	2	4
Science	18	15	13
Government	8	8	5
Educators	6	7	2
College Professors	3	1	4
Artists	4	3	5
Other	6	4	5
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	755	205	418

$Chi^2 = 62.48$ df = 24 p = .001

TABLE VII-9

Relationship Between Religious Background and Son's Senior Occupational Choices

Son's Senior Occupational Choice	Religious Background		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jew
Medicine	15%	6%	32%
Dentistry	4	8	1
Law	8	18	17
Business-People	2	2	4
Business-Data, things	1	2	2
SE Business-People	17	22	6
SE Business-Data, things	7	8	2
Science	6	0	4
Government	6	10	2
Educators	10	8	0
College Professors	15	14	20
Artists	3	0	6
Other	6	2	4
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	272	51	160
	$Chi^2=85.64$	df = 24	p = .001

TABLE VII-10

Rank Order Percent Distributions of Freshmen Autonomy Choices by Father's Occupation

"Top Man"		"Work on own"		"Work without major responsibility"	
51%	SE Business - people (N=391)	84%	Dentists (N=25)	14%	Other (N=51)
43%	Business - people (N=372)	69%	Doctors (N=80)	13%	Arts (N=15)
42%	Business - data, things (N=315)	68%	Scientists (N=19)	13%	College professors (N=38)
40%	Arts (N=15)	60%	SE Business - data, things (N=60)	13%	Business - data, things (N=315)
39%	Other (N=51)	57%	Government (N=72)	10%	Business - people (N=372)
39%	Educators below college level (N=39)	56%	Lawyers (N=68)	9%	Lawyers (N=68)
36%	Government (N=72)	55%	College professors (N=38)	8%	SE Business - data, things (N=60)
35%	Lawyers (N=68)	54%	Educators below college level (N=39)	8%	Educators below college (N=39)
32%	SE Business - data, things (N=60)	47%	Other (N=51)	7%	Government (N=72)
32%	Scientists (N=19)	47%	Business - people (N=372)	6%	Doctors (N=80)
32%	College professors (N=38)	47%	Arts (N=15)	5%	SE Business - people (N=391)
25%	Doctors (N=80)	45%	Business - data, things (N=315)	4%	Dentists (N=25)

(continued)

TABLE VII-10 (cont'd)

Rank Order Percent Distributions of Freshmen Autonomy Choices by Father's Occupation

"Top Man"		"Work on own"		"Work without major responsibility"	
12%	Dentists (N=25)	44%	SE Business - people (N=391)	0%	Scientists (N=19)
42%	Percent of total	49%	Percent of total	9%	Percent of total
644	N	766	N	135	N

$\text{Chi}^2 = 64.19$ df = 24 p = .001

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[*] Entries represent the proportion of freshmen with fathers in a given occupational category who gave the particular response to the autonomy question. For example, this entry indicates that 51% of the freshmen whose fathers were in the "SE Business - People" occupational category chose the "top man" alternative on the autonomy question. The base of each percentage is the total number in the occupational category (N=391 in the "SE Business - People" category).

work autonomy which is characteristic of their fathers' occupations. Thus, the sons of fathers whose occupations tend to be found in large-scale organizational environments are more likely to want to be "top man" in a company or organization. Three categories of businessmen are found at the top of this list. They are followed by artists (many of whom work in commercial settings), educators below the college level, government workers, and lawyers. Self-employed businessmen in the data-thing category (i.e., self-employed engineers, accountants, architects, etc.), scientists, and college professors, who might be expected to be less bureaucratic in their work orientations, have sons who generally do not wish to head large organizations. At the bottom of the list are the sons of doctors and dentists, who are the most independent of all occupational groups considered here, and whose work is typically carried out in small-scale enterprises. (While there is a trend toward increasing employment in medical clinics, almost all of the doctors who are fathers of students in this sample--98 out of 112--are self-employed in their own private practices. Similarly, 30 out of 31 dentists are self-employed.)

"To work on my own, with nobody over me and nobody under me," can probably be considered the most entrepreneurial and autonomous response. The rank order of preference for this choice is almost the reverse of the order discussed above. In this case, the sons of dentists, doctors, and scientists head the list. The sons of self-employed managers (category 4), employed businessmen (6 and 7), artists, and educators (10), are found at the bottom. (The location of the sons of college professors is an interesting exception to this general reversal.)

As is evident from the table, very few students from any occupational background chose to work in an organization without the major responsibilities.

An attempt was made to determine whether self-employment of the father exerts a significant effect on the kind of value orientation reflected in the response to this question. The sons of the self-employed did not differ from the other students in the proportion wanting to be "top man." (Table VII-11) However, they were slightly more likely to choose the more entrepreneurial response, "to work on my own." Also, as expected, they were less interested in working in an organization without major responsibility.

In conclusion, these fathers' occupational variables were found to relate to the measure of autonomy in statistically and theoretically significant ways. This fact, combined with a general absence of clear relationships between this value measure and education and income variables, gives further evidence that the nature of the father's occupation is of greater importance in effecting sons' work values.

As might be expected in consideration of the occupational choice differences characteristic of religious background groups, religion also proved to be significantly related to this autonomy value.

TABLE VII-11

Relationship Between Father's Employment Status and Son's Freshman Autonomy Choices

Son's Freshman Autonomy Choice	Employment Status of Father		
	Self-Employed	Both	Works for Someone Else
"Top Man"	42%	46%	42%
"Work on Own"	53%	36%	48%
"Work without Major Responsibility"	5%	18%	10%
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	599	28	924

$X^2 = 18.13$ df = 4 P = .01

Protestants were most interested in being "top man" and least likely to want to work on their own. In keeping with their propensity toward entrepreneurial career patterns, Jews were less likely than Protestants to want to be top man in an organization, and more likely to want to work independently. In accord with their avoidance of business, Jews were least interested in working in an organization without major responsibilities. Freshmen Catholics, in spite of their senior choice tendencies reported earlier (interest in business management, and avoidance of medicine) were like the Jews in their desire to work on their own and in their disinterest in the "top man" career option. (Table VII-12)

In the current literature concerning vocational values of students, it has been suggested that increasing affluence has allowed them to take the extrinsic occupational rewards of money, status, and security for granted, and to be attracted to those career opportunities enabling the attainment of the more intrinsic self-expression or people-oriented values (cf. Flacks, 1967). Therefore, it was expected that prestige-related background characteristics, as well as the father's occupation, would be related to the student's estimation of the importance of succeeding in the world. It was hypothesized that students from higher educational and income backgrounds would place less emphasis on the importance of success. Furthermore, those respondents whose fathers were in the apparently more materialistic business world were expected to place more importance on success than students from other, more professional and service oriented backgrounds.

TABLE VII-12

Relationship Between Religious Background and Son's Freshman Autonomy Choices

Son's Freshman Autonomy Choice	Religious Background		
	Protestant	Catholic	Jew
"Top Man"	45%	39%	40%
"Work on Own"	44	52	54
"Work without Major Responsibility"	11	9	6
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	749	202	413
	Chi^2=14.15	df = 4	p = .01

Freshmen respondents were asked to rank their concern about succeeding in the world on a four-point scale.[7] Contrary to prior supposition, income level proved to be statistically unrelated to this measure of success concern. (Nor was income related to two other success-oriented measures: the concern with succeeding in college or with being an outstanding student.) The father's educational level was also unrelated to this measure. However, concern with success in the world tended to decrease as the mother's educational level rose (cf. Table VII-13) The sons of mothers with graduate degrees were outstanding, in comparison to the other students, in their seeming lack of concern.[8]

Father's occupation proved to be highly related to concern with succeeding in the world. As expected, businessmen's sons were more concerned than most of the professional groups. (cf. Table VII-14) An index of success concern derived from the responses to this question and the two other measures mentioned above showed almost the identical rank order by father's occupation.

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[7] The question, for freshmen, parallels question 111 of Part One of the Senior Questionnaire. For each of a list of possible problems and issues, freshmen were asked to check their degree of concern on a four-point scale, ranging from "Very concerned" to "Not at all concerned." Included in this list was the item: "Do I have what it takes to succeed in the world."

[8] A measure combining the educational level of both parents was also significantly related to concern with success, the direction of the relationship again being negative. (p = .01)

TABLE VII-13

Mean "Concern with Success" Score by Mother's Education

Mother's Education	Concern with Success	N
less than high school	1.831	71
some high school	1.914	93
completed high school	2.056	498
some college	2.135	371
completed college	2.129	410
advanced or professional degree	2.424	139
Total	2.107	1582

eta = .125 F = 5.023 P = .001

TABLE VII-14

Rank Order List of Mean "Concern with Success" Scores by Father's Occupation

Rank Order	Father's Occupation	Concern with Success	N
1.	Dentists	1.61	26
2.	Artists	1.66	15
3.	SE Business-People	1.99	395
4.	Business-People	2.06	376
5.	SE Business-Data,things	2.09	61
6.	Other	2.11	52
7.	Business-Data,things	2.15	318
8.	College teachers	2.20	39
9.	Lawyers	2.28	71
10.	Doctors	2.33	83
11.	Government	2.35	73
12.	Scientists	2.42	21
13.	Educators below the college level	2.45	40
	Total	2.11	1576

eta = .147 F = 2.857 P = .001

Seniors were asked to rate several criteria according to their importance when considering a choice of occupation. The importance of extrinsic rewards was indicated by the following areas of concern: that the occupation is respected, has high income, and provides security and opportunities for advancement. In addition, an index consisting of the added ratings for each of these criteria constitutes an overall measure of value.[9] Statistically significant relationships between these measures and the prestige related background variables were rather unexpected.[10]

Considering the index first, parental income showed a highly significant relationship to concern with extrinsic rewards. However, their importance tended to increase with income level. (cf. Table VII-15) The relationship between this measure and occupational prestige, while somewhat positive, showed no clear general pattern. An upper middle category (6), consisting mostly of high income businessmen, placed the most emphasis upon extrinsic rewards. However, contrary to expectation, very low prestige (categories 1 and 2) was associated with less emphasis on this set of values. (cf. Table VII-16)

The measure of concern that the occupation be respected also showed a somewhat positive relationship to income. (cf. Table VII-17) Its relationship to father's occupation was highly significant. (cf. Table VII-18) However, the sons of dentists, doctors, lawyers, and educators below the college level show more concern with occupational prestige than do the sons of businessmen. This is in contrast to the freshman rank order of occupational origin groups by concern with worldly success in which the dentists were the only major professional group to rank above businessmen.

Concern with occupational advancement showed some tendency to increase with family income (cf. Table VII-19) and with father's education (cf. Table VII-20). The prestige of the father's occupation showed a rather curvilinear relationship to this kind of concern. As in the case of the extrinsic reward index, category 6, composed of high income businessmen's sons, showed the most concern with occupational advancement (cf. Table VII-21).

Turning now to concern with high income, the most explicitly materialistic question of the four considered, we again find a significant and generally positive relationship to family income (cf. Table VII-22). The relationship between this variable and occupational prestige, while statistically significant, again showed a rather curvilinear pattern. The lowest prestige categories were least concerned, and the category

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[9] The Extrinsic Reward Index consists of Part One, question 79, items a,b,j, and k of the Senior Questionnaire, Appendix B.

[10] The relationship between each one of these value measures and the following variables was investigated: father's occupation, the prestige of the father's occupation, family income, and the education of both parents. However, only the statistically significant relationships are reported here.

TABLE VII-15

Mean Extrinsic Reward Index Score by Family Income

Family Income	Extrinsic Reward Index Score	N
Less than $4,000	4.636	11
$4,000 to $7,499	3.511	47
$7,500 to $9,999	3.984	62
$10,000 to $14,999	4.600	170
$15,000 to $19,999	4.691	123
$20,000 and over	5.174	207
Total	4.666	620

eta = .174   F = 3.854   P = .01

TABLE VII-16

Mean Extrinsic Reward Index Score by Father's Occupational Prestige

Father's Occupational Prestige Score	Extrinsic Reward Index Score	N
16-32	3.806	36
33-41	3.772	57
42-49	4.466	88
50-57	4.833	138
58-69	4.571	119
70	5.494	85
71-77	4.958	72
78-82	4.553	38
Total	4.665	633

eta = .172   F = 2.718   P = .01

TABLE VII-17

Mean "Concern with Occupational Prestige" Score by Family Income

Family Income	Mean Concern with Occupational Prestige	N
Less than $4,000	1.636	11
$4,000 to $7,499	1.542	48
$7,500 to $9,999	1.877	65
$10,000 to $14,999	1.851	175
$15,000 to $19,999	1.811	127
$20,000 and over	1.947	209
Total	1.850	635

eta = .142 F = 2.608 P = .05

TABLE VII-18

Mean "Concern with Occupational Prestige" Score by Father's Occupation. (rank order list)

Rank Order	Father's Occupation	Mean Concern with Occupational Prestige	N
1	Dentists	2.556	9
2	Doctors	2.091	22
3	Lawyers	2.059	34
4	Educators Below the College Level	2.048	21
5	Other	2.000	20
6	SE Business-People	1.856	146
7	Business-Data, things	1.825	137
8	Business-People	1.818	170
9	SE Business-Data, things	1.773	22
10	College Professors	1.737	19
11	Scientists	1.583	12
12	Government	1.484	31
13	Artists	1.333	3
	Total	1.847	646

eta = .202 F = 2.249 P = .01

TABLE VII-19

Mean "Concern with Occupational Advancement" Score by Family Income

Family Income	Mean Concern with Occupational Advancement	N
Less than $4,000	2.091	11
$4,000 to $7,499	1.816	49
$7,500 to $9,999	1.908	65
$10,000 to $14,999	2.167	174
$15,000 to $19,999	2.119	126
$20,000 and over	2.298	208
Total	2.145	633

eta = .161 F = 3.353 P = .01

TABLE VII-20

Mean "Concern with Occupational Advancement" Score by Father's Education

Father's Education	Mean Concern with Occupational Advancement	N
Less Than High School	1.800	20
Some High School	1.923	26
Completed High School	2.064	94
Some College	2.070	115
Completed College	2.367	128
Advanced or Professional Degree	2.108	158
Total	2.133	541

eta = .157 F = 2.716 P = .05

TABLE VII-21

Mean "Concern with Occupational Advancement" Score by the Prestige Score of the Father's Occupation

Father's Occupational Prestige Score	Mean Concern with Occupational Advancement Score	N
16-32	1.811	37
33-41	1.828	58
42-49	2.000	88
50-57	2.243	140
58-69	2.152	125
70	2.523	86
71-77	2.219	73
78-82	1.923	39
Total	2.146	646

eta = .224 F = 4.794 P = .001

TABLE VII-22

Mean "Concern with High Income" Score by Family Income

Family Income	Mean Concern with High Income Score	N
Less than $4,000	2.273	11
$4,000 to $7,499	1.796	49
$7,500 to $9,999	1.984	64
$10,000 to $14,999	2.247	174
$15,000 to $19,999	2.310	126
$20,000 and over	2.464	209
Total	2.270	633

eta = .205 F = 5.518 P = .001

TABLE VII-23

Mean Concern with High Income Score by Prestige of the Father's Occupation

Father's Occupational Prestige score	Mean Concern with High Income Score	N
16-32	1.865	37
33-41	2.051	59
42-49	2.239	88
50-57	2.321	140
58-69	2.244	123
70	2.612	85
71-77	2.329	73
78-82	2.122	41
Total	2.271	646

eta = .186 F = 3.264 P = .01

consisting of the sons of high income businessmen attached the greatest importance to high income (cf. Table VII-23). The sons of dentists and doctors ranked higher on this dimension than did the sons of all categories of businessmen. The sons of educators below the college level and lawyers attached more importance to high income than did the sons of those businessmen whose occupations focus on data or things. The non-self-employed businessmen in this functional category tend to be in the least prestigious occupations (cf. Table VII-24).

Concern with occupational security was not significantly related to any of the occupational or prestige-related variables considered in this study.

In conclusion, these results clearly conflict with the hypothesis that students from higher socio-economic status backgrounds, as indicated by the prestige or professional status of the father's occupation, the father's educational level, or by family income, place less emphasis upon extrinsic occupational rewards.

While freshman business origin groups showed more concern with success than most of the other students, this finding was not confirmed by the senior data. Among seniors, father's occupation was significantly related to two of the four extrinsic reward value measures considered. In the case of concern that the occupation be respected, sons of dentists, doctors, lawyers, and educators ranked higher than the sons of businessmen. Sons of dentists and doctors ranked higher than did the sons of all categories of businessmen in their concern with high income. The sons of educators and lawyers valued high income more than did the sons of those businessmen whose occupations focus on data or things. Occupational prestige did not show a clear linear relationship to any of these values. The highest income businessmen's sons were most concerned with attaining occupational advancement and high income. However, businessmen's sons as a group do not tend to rank higher than the sons of all professionals in concern with these extrinsic reward values.

In the entry sample, family income and father's education were unrelated to concern with success. However, among seniors, family income was at least somewhat positively related to concern with three extrinsic reward values and to the index of extrinsic reward. Father's education was positively related to one value, the concern with occupational advancement, but it was unrelated to the other measures.

Therefore, this study found no evidence for the proposition that students from higher social status backgrounds are less interested in attaining the extrinsic rewards of career than their less affluent classmates. While a de-emphasis on these values could be the historical trend, findings based on this sample of students who graduated from college in the middle 60's give no support to this hypothesis. If anything, the more affluent students are more interested in retaining the rather materialistic and extrinsic career rewards which their fathers already possess.

TABLE VII-24

Mean Concern with High Income Score by Father's Occupation. (rank order list)

Rank Order	Code Category	Father's Occupation	Mean Concern with High Income Score	N
1	2	Dentists	2.667	9
2	12	Artists	2.667	3
3	1	Doctors	2.500	22
4	4	SE Business-People	2.452	146
5	6	Business-People	2.298	168
6	10	Educators Below the College Level	2.273	22
7	3	Lawyers	2.265	34
8	5	SE Business-Data,things	2.182	22
9	7	Business-Data, things	2.169	136
10	13	Other	2.150	20
11	9	Government	2.032	31
12	11	College Professors	1.789	19
13	8	Scientists	1.750	12
		Total	2.27	644

eta = .180 F = 1.764 P = .05

The Effects of the College Experience on Occupational Values and Choices

Faculty

As noted earlier, a primary objective of the present study is to investigate the kinds of student experiences which could have an effect upon occupational values and career choices. As part of this effort, an attempt was made to determine whether faculty members tend to direct students toward certain career lines, and to compare this direction with that coming from parents. In Table VII-25, the occupational choice distributions of students by three levels of perceived faculty and parental influence are presented.[11] There are rather large differences in the senior choice distributions of those students who feel they have been strongly influenced by their parents in their career choice and those who perceive a similar level of influence from their professors. Perceived faculty influence moved students toward college teaching and away from medicine. Those who felt high faculty influence also showed a lesser inclination toward business than did the entire sample. However, those who felt they had been strongly influenced by their parents showed a greater propensity toward business and medicine, and were not as attracted to college teaching as were other seniors.

Peer Subcultures

College peers are also known to be powerful reference groups, often counteracting the influence attempts of educators and administrators. Orientations of the various student subcultures toward the criteria to be used in judging personal worth, what constitutes important and valuable activity, and what goals are worth striving for, were thought to be quite pervasive, having effects upon occupational as well as other important life decisions. Therefore, it was expected that values and perspectives fostered by the peer subcultures would be of great relevance to the student's developing orientations toward work.

While the effect of student subcultures on occupational values has received little attention, some campus observers have suggested that there are differences in work values among the members of the various student subcultures. Four major subcultural orientations were identified by Clark and Trow -- the collegiate, vocational, academic, and nonconformist.[12] In this classification, the collegiate subculture is

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[11] Perceived parental influence was measured by the extent to which the student chose "Mother" and "Father" in response to questions asking about the importance of different people in choice of a major (Question 12) and occupation (Q.83). Faculty influence was measured by the importance given to "other Michigan faculty" on these two questions, as well as indicating that "another faculty member" had discussed vocational plans or problems with the student. (Question 41 in Appendix B)

[12] For previous findings relevant to the Clark-Trow subcultures, see Tables II-1 and III-3 in Chapters II and III above.

TABLE VII-25

Relationship Between Perceived Faculty and Parental Influence and Freshman and Senior Occupational Choices. (upper row entries correspond to the senior choice distributions; lower row entries correspond to the Freshman choice distributions).

% Total	Occupational Choice	Perceived Faculty Influence on Career Choice			Perceived Parental Influence on Career Choice		
		Low	Some	High	Low	Some	High
18.5	Medicine	25%*	19%	13%	8%	18%	26%
26.9		33%*	27%	23%	18%	29%	31%
11.8	Law	15	16	7	11	12	13
15.1		15	16	13	10	14	17
22.5	Business	29	23	19	21	20	27
12.7		13	14	12	11	10	18
4.9	Science	4	8	4	5	5	4
17.1		18	17	18	21	21	11
5.6	Government	5	7	5	7	4	6
7.1		6	9	7	12	5	7
6.4	Education Below College Level	7	5	7	10	9	2
4.9		2	5	6	10	6	0
18.0	College Teaching	7	10	31	29	20	9
4.0		2	4	6	7	3	3
12.2	Other	8	13	14	9	11	13
12.2		11	8	15	11	12	13
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N	132	165	201	112	208	204

* Upper row entries correspond to the senior choice distributions; lower row entries correspond to the freshman choice destributions

viewed as being preoccupied with social life and extra-curricular pursuits. Here one finds the fraternity men, athletes, and the traditional leaders of campus-wide organizations and activities. To the vocational students, education is predominantly a means to a diploma, which carries with it a desired occupational goal and a correspondingly high social status. Members of the academic subculture are highly involved in course work, and tend to aim for the higher level professions which require graduate study. The residual, non-conformist subculture, includes the political activists and the more aesthetically-oriented groups. Much of the literature describing non-conformist students focuses on their vast alienation from middle class and "establishment" work roles. Hypotheses concerning the relationship between these four subcultural orientations and work related values were derived from the growing literature on college students and the observations of the author.

A multiple classification analysis was used to compare the relative importance of the predictor variables pertaining to social background and student subcultural orientation in accounting for differences in occupational values and to assess the overall power of the combined variables in the multivariate model. This kind of multivariate analysis enables one to compute the proportion of variance in the dependent variable which is explained by each of the independent variables, controlling for the others, and by all variables considered together.[13]

To determine the amount of variance accounted for by additional variable(s), over and above that already explained by other predictors, it is necessary to re-run the program, adding on the additional variable(s) in question. In so far as these variables are correlated with the predictors already present in the model, the amount of additional variance explained will be a conservative estimate.

Therefore, to determine the explanatory power afforded by knowing a student's subcultural orientation, over and above that attained by knowing his background characteristics, two measures of subcultural orientation were added to a predictive model consisting of three background characteristics alone (Father's occupation, family income, and father's education).[14] In Table VII-26, eta^2, corresponding to the amount of variance explained by each one of the predictors considered alone, is presented in columns 1,2,3,5, and 6. Multiple r^2, providing a measure of the total explanatory power of the mulivariate model, is shown for both runs of the program for each value measure (columns 4 and 7). In addition, the amount of variance attributable to subculture over and above that explained by the background factors, "Net Subculture," is given in column 8.

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[13] Unlike the more conventional multiple regression analysis, MCA makes use of "dummy variables" constructed for each category of every predictor, and therefore can be used with categorical predictors. For a description of multiple classification analysis, cf. Andrews, Frank.; Morgan, James; and Sonquist, John. Multiple Classification Analysis: A Report on a Computer Program for Multiple Regression Using Categorical Predictors. An Arbor: Survey Research Center. Institute for Social Research. May, 1967.

[14] The first measure of subcultural orientation was an operationalization of the Clark-Trow typology (Part One, Q.49); the other was a more refined breakdown into ten student types (Part Three,Q.17). The results of the former appear in column 6 of Table VII-26; the latter in column 5.

As is evident in Table VII-26, the subcultural orientations offer greater explanatory power than the background variables alone. They are especially powerful in the prediction of the extrinsic reward values and the concern that an occupation be creative.[15] However, they are poorer predictors of people-oriented work values and the desire for autonomy. These results afford rather convincing evidence that those who identify with the various campus subcultures hold different orientations toward work, and that these differences cannot be attributed to background effects.

Students probably enter college with preconceptions, both positive and negative, regarding the campus subcultures. These prior notions are likely to be influenced by the backgrounds from which students come. However, it is interesting to note here that when subcultural orientation was compared for students of different social background, very few significant relationships could be found.[16]

Only some of the differences in values between subcultural groups, as defined by the first measure (the Clark-Trow typology) will be discussed here. (cf. Tables VII-27 through VII-36). As the differences in values would lead one to expect, students with different subcultural orientations showed highly distinctive patterns of occupational choice distribution (cf. Table VII-37). Due to the high levels of association between subcultural orientation and occupational choice, an investigation was also made of the extent to which students who identify with different

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[15] The occupational values in Table VII-26 come from the question (Q. 79) asking for the importance of different reasons for choosing one's occupation. As indicated above, the Extrinsic Reward Index consists of items a,b,j,k of Q. 79. The Self-Expression Reward Index consists of items e,f,i. The People-Oriented Reward Index consists of items h and m.

[16] F tests were made comparing mean subcultural orientation scores by father's occupation, the prestige of the father's occupation, the parents' education, religious background, and ethnicity. While background comparisons between selected cubcultural orientation pairs would undoubtedly generate some relations of significance, if the relationship between background and subcultural orientation were large, one would expect to find a pattern of statistically significant differences in these overall comparisons.

TABLE VII-26

Comparison of background and student subculture effects on occupational values of seniors

Senior Occupational Values	1 F's occ.	2 Income	3 F's Education	4 Backgr. v's	5 Subc. Ident.	6 C-T Ident.	7 Backgr. & Subc. v's	8 Net Sub-Culture
Extrinsic Reward Index	2.8	3.1	1.3	2.9	9.8	10.8	14.9	12.0
Occupational Advancement	1.3	2.8	2.1	2.3	7.4	6.0	8.9	6.6
High Income	3.4	4.3	1.1	4.7	9.1	10.0	15.0	10.3
Occupational Prestige	4.3	2.3	1.5	3.5	5.2	4.1	8.1	4.6
Occupational Security	3.5	.7	.3	.5	6.8	8.4	10.6	10.1
Self-Expression Reward Index	1.5	.5	1.8	0	4.9	.4	3.5	3.5
Creativity	2.9	2.2	1.4	2.6	10.8	5.1	12.6	10.0
People-Oriented Reward Index	3.8	1.2	2.8	2.9	3.2	.8	4.8	1.9
Working with People	4.8	1.4	2.5	3.8	2.2	1.1	5.3	1.5
Useful to Society	2.1	1.1	2.0	.9	5.8	1.1	4.7	3.8
Occupational Autonomy	4.1	2.8	2.6	3.9	3.1	2.4	7.6	3.7

Column	Measure
1	Proportion of variance explained by father's occupation. (eta^2)
2	Proportion of variance explained by family income. (eta^2)
3	Proportion of variance explained by father's education. (eta^2)
4	Total variance explained by 3 background characteristics. (Multiple r^2)
5	Proportion of variance explained by subculture identification. (eta^2)
6	Proportion of variance explained by C-T identification. (eta^2)
7	Total variance explained by background and subculture effects. (Multiple r^2)
8	Net variance explained by subculture after removing background effects. (Column 7 minus Column 4).

subcultures have differential patterns of occupational choice change while in college.[17] (cf. Tables VII-38 through VII-42)

As expected, the work values of the vocationally oriented students indicated that they were striving for the relatively high social status which a college degree can guarantee. When compared with students with other subcultural orientations, they ranked first in their emphases on the criteria that an occupation be respected (cf. Table VII-31) and that it provide security. (cf. Table VII-30) These students also ranked high in their concern with high income (Table VII-28) and occupational advancement (Table VII-29), and on the overall extrinsic reward measure (Table VII-27). In importance placed on career in later life, they shared first rank positions with the more professionally-oriented, academic students (Table VII-32). They show less concern than other students that their occupations provide opportunities for creative expression (Table VII-33), or that they might work by themselves (Table VII-35). Vocational students were overrepresented among those choosing medicine and dentistry. They were somewhat underrepresented in the people-oriented business occupations (Table VII-37).

Students identifying with the collegiate subculture showed a pattern of extrinsic reward value orientation which was highly similar to that of the vocational students (Table VII-27). These students were most interested in high income (Table VII-28) and the criterion that an occupation provide opportunities for advancement (Table VII-29). They were close behind the vocational students in their mean scores indicating concern with occupational security and occupational prestige (Tables VII-30 and VII-31). Of the four groups, they were least concerned that they be allowed to work by themselves (Table VII-35).

The collegiate students placed less emphasis upon career as a future life sphere than did the vocationals and academics, but were somewhat more concerned than the vocational students that their occupations be creative (Tables VII-32 and VII-33). For them, the exercise of leadership was of greatest importance (Table VII-34).

In accord with their extrinsic reward values, and their lack of concern that they be permitted to work by themselves, the collegiate students were drawn toward the business world during their college years (Tables VII-37 and VII-40). This fact, coupled with their high regard for leadership opportunities, indicates that they view the business world as providing a desirable arena for the exercise of leadership skills.

While less than 17% of the collegiates choose business as freshmen, a third indicate that business is their first occupational choice when they are seniors. This figure compares with 22.5% choosing business in

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[17] To detect possible effects of background characteristics and parental influence on occupational choice change and retention, a comparison of the choice turnover patterns of students of different social background was made. In general, the kinds of associations between background and choice which were found at single points in time were reflected in these patterns.

TABLE VII-27

Mean External Reward Index Score by Subculture Identification (rank order list)

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean External Reward Index Score	N
1	Collegiate-Social	5.234	274
2	Vocational	5.214	117
3	Academic	4.394	155
4	Non-Conformist	2.413	75
	Total	4.680	621

eta = .326 F = 24.489 P = .001

TABLE VII-28

Mean Concern With High Income Score by Subculture Identification (rank order list)

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean Concern with High Income Score	N
1	Collegiate-Social	2.504	270
2	Vocational	2.452	115
3	Academic	2.083	144
4	Non-Conformist	1.586	70
	Total		599

eta = .317

TABLE VII-29

Mean Concern with Occupational Advancement Score by Subculture Identification (rank order list)

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean Concern with Occupational Advancement Score	N
1	Collegiate-Social	2.317	271
2	Vocational	2.210	114
3	Academic	2.090	144
4	Non-Conformist	1.586	70
	Total		599

eta = .246

TABLE VII-30

Mean Concern with Occupational Security Score by Subculture Identification (rank order list)

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean Concern with Occupational Security Score	N
1	Vocational	2.609	115
2	Collegiate-Social	2.558	267
3	Academic	2.390	141
4	Non-Conformist	1.729	70
	Total		593

eta = .290

TABLE VII-31

Mean Concern with Occupational Prestige Score by Subculture Identification (rank order list)

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean Concern with Occupational Prestige Score	N
1	Vocational	2.017	115
2	Collegiate-Social	1.889	271
3	Academic	1.876	145
4	Non-Conformist	1.465	71
	Total		602

eta = .204

TABLE VII-32

Mean Importance of Career Score by Subculture Identification (rank order list)

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean Importance of Career Score	N
1	Vocational	2.385	117
2	Academic	2.384	159
3	Collegiate-Social	2.285	281
4	Non-Conformist	2.012	80
	Total	2.294	637

eta = .186 F = 7.758 P = .001

TABLE VII-33

Mean Concern with Creativity Score by Subculture Identification

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean Concern with Creativity Score	N
1	Non-Conformist	2.972	72
2	Academic	2.750	144
3	Collegiate-Social	2.465	271
4	Vocational	2.290	114
	Total		601

eta = .226

TABLE VII-34

Mean Concern with Leadership Opportunity Score by Subculture Identification

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean Concern with Leadership Opportunity Score	N
1	Collegiate-Social	2.729	280
2	Academic	2.478	159
3	Vocational	2.444	117
4	Non-Conformist	1.987	78
	Total	2.522	634

eta = .251 F = 14.110 P = .001

TABLE VII-35

Mean Concern with Autonomy Score by Subculture Identification

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean Concern with Autonomy Score	N
1	Academic	2.551	158
2	Non-Conformist	2.487	76
3	Vocational	2.393	117
4	Collegiate-Social	2.194	279
	Total	2.356	630

eta = .156 F = 5.189 P = .01

TABLE VII-36

Mean Concern with High Pressure Score by Subculture Identification

Rank Order	Subculture	Mean Concern with high Pressure Score	N
1	Non-Conformist	1.727	77
2	Academic	1.380	158
3	Collegiate-Social	1.356	278
4	Vocational	1.353	116
	Total	1.407	629

eta = .161 F = 5.577 P = .001

TABLE VII-37

Relationship Between Subculture Identification and Senior Occupational Choices

Senior Occupational Choices		Subculture Identification			
	Total	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
1 Medicine	17%	24%	21%	15%	4%
2 Dentistry	3	10	1	2	1
3 Law	12	13	13	13	5
4 SE Business-People	3	2	3	4	1
5 SE Business-Data, things	1	2	0	1	3
6 Business-People	13	8	4	23	8
7 Business-Data, things	8	10	5	10	3
8 Science	5	5	7	4	3
9 Government	6	2	9	5	6
10 Education Below the College Level	7	6	5	6	13
11 College Teaching	16	14	26	8	33
12 Artists	3	0	1	4	9
13 Other	6	4	5	5	11
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	635	118	159	280	78

$\text{chi}^2 = 157.726$ df = 36 P = .001

TABLE VII-38

Percent Freshman and Senior Choice of Medicine by Subculture Identification

	Total	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman Year	26.9	33.7	24.5	24.7	29.2
Senior Year	18.5	25.7	23.0	17.9	4.2
Net Loss	8.4	8.0	1.5	6.8	25.0
Retention Rate	56.1	64.7	64.7	63.6	14.3
N	535	101	139	223	72

TABLE VII-39

Percent Freshman and Senior Choice of College Teaching by Subculture Identification

	Total	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman Year	4.0	5.0	6.5	1.3	6.9
Senior Year	18.0	15.8	27.3	8.1	33.3
Net Gain	14.0	10.8	20.8	6.8	26.4
Rate of Movement to College Teaching	15.1	13.9	21.6	7.6	26.4
N	535	101	139	223	72

TABLE VII-40

Percent Freshman and Senior Choice of Business by Subculture Identification

	Total	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman Year	12.7	11.9	7.2	16.6	8.3
Senior Year	22.5	19.8	11.5	33.2	12.5
Net Gain	9.8	7.9	4.3	16.6	4.2
Rate of Movement to Business	16.5	15.8	9.4	22.9	12.5
Retention Rate	47.1	33.3	30.0	62.2	0.0
N	535	101	139	223	72

TABLE VII-41

Percent Freshman and Senior Choice of Law by Subculture Identification

	Total	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman Year	15.1	10.9	12.2	20.2	9.7
Senior Year	11.8	12.9	12.9	12.6	4.2
Net	- 3.3	+ 2.0	+ .7	- 7.6	- 5.5
Retention Rate	32.5	45.5	41.2	31.1	0
N	535	101	139	223	72

TABLE VII-42

Percent Freshman and Senior Choice of Education by Subculture Identification

	Total	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman Year	4.9	3.0	7.2	3.6	8.3
Senior Year	6.4	5.9	4.3	5.8	13.9
Net	+ 1.5	+ 2.9	- 2.9	+ 2.2	+ 5.6
Rate of Movement to Education	4.9	5.0	4.3	4.9	6.9
N	535	101	139	223	72

the entire senior sample (Table VII-40). Among initial choosers, 62% of the collegiates retain their choice of business. The retention rate in business for the vocationals and academics is approximately a third. None of the non-conformist students who initially choose business retain this choice as seniors.

The values of the academically-oriented students were distinguished by the great importance placed upon being able to work autonomously. (Table VII-35) They were also highly concerned that their occupations allow creative expression (Table VII-33). As noted earlier, they shared first rank with the vocational students in their emphasis on career (Table VII-32).

In contrast to the vocationals and collegiates, they were less concerned with the extrinsic rewards provided by occupation (Table VII-27) -- high income (Table VII-28), occupational advancement (Table VII-29), and security (Table VII-30). However, they were as concerned as the collegiates that their occupations be respected (Table VII-31).

Academically-oriented students were greatly overrepresented among those choosing medicine and college teaching as first career choices (Table VII-37). While the overall loss in the percent choosing medicine between the freshman and the senior year was 8.4% for the entire sample, the loss among academics was only 1.5%. (Table VII-38) During their college years, students identifying with the academic subculture move in large numbers toward college teaching (Table VII-39). Their avoidance of the business world both in the freshman and the senior years is an outstanding characteristic (Table VII-40).

The value distribution of the non-conformist students was highly dissimilar to the pattern of values espoused by all other students. They were outstanding in their disregard for the extrinsic rewards obtained in work, falling well below the other students on each of the four extrinsic dimensions (Tables VII-27 through VII-31). They also ranked last in the emphasis they placed upon career in their future lives (Table VII-32). In comparison with the other students, the non-conformists did not want high pressure in their jobs (Table VII-36), and they were least concerned that their occupations provide opportunities for leadership. (Table VII-34)

However, their disregard for these values does not mean that they are completely detached from the world of work. The non-conformist students were most concerned that their occupations provide creative opportunities (Table VII-33). Their desire to work by themselves was greater than that of the vocationals and the collegiates (Table VII-35).

In accord with these values, and their strong intellectual-aesthetic orientations, by the senior year the non-conformists showed patterns of avoidance of all occupations except those directly concerned with the world of ideas -- teaching (both at the college level and below it) and the arts (Table VII-37). While 29% of these students chose medicine when they were freshmen (27% of the entire sample did so), only 4% made the same choice as seniors (Table VII-38). This loss of

25% contrasts highly with the corresponding 8% loss for the total sample. Only 14% of the non-conformists initially choosing medicine retained this choice. For the other subcultures, the retention rate in medicine is approximately two-thirds.

Both as freshmen and seniors the non-conformists avoided business and law (Tables VII-40 and VII-41). Among the senior non-conformists, only 12.5% choose business; 22.5% of the total sample chooses business as seniors. The non-conformists' retention rate in business is 0, in contrast to 33% for vocationals, 30% for academics, and 62.2% for collegiate-socials.

However, the percentage of senior non-conformists in education (13.9%) is double the figure for the entire sample (6.4%, cf. Table VII-42). While 18% of the sample chose college teaching as seniors, 33.3% of the non-conformists make this choice (Table VII-39). Their proportional gain in this field is the highest of the four subcultural groups.

Academic Performance

College performance, operationally defined here by overall grade point average during the first two years, is highly relevant to career choice change, especially in those occupations for which a graduate or professional degree is required. To maximize the effects of grades, and to determine the possible mitigating effects of other characteristics on the operation of this variable, a subsample was selected for special study. This subsample consisted of all students whose entry first or second occupational choice was college teaching, medicine, dentistry, or law (N=296). As was expected, grade level had a large effect on the retention rate in medicine and the rates of movement into university teaching and into business (Tables VII-43 through VII-45).

Table VII-43 shows that the size of the net loss in medicine is inversely related to grade point average. Thus, all groups are "cooled out" of their initial aspirations in medicine to some extent by low grades. However, the student's subcultural orientation seemed to have an effect which modified that of grades. The dampening effect of poor performance is greatest for the non-conformists, followed in order by the vocationals, academics and the collegiates. Among the vocationals and academics, for those with high grades there is a small net gain in percentage choosing medicine between the freshman and the senior years. However, in the case of the collegiates and the non-conformist students, there is a net loss in both performance groups, through this loss is a good deal larger among those with low grades. The non-conformists again show the greatest divergence from the patterns characteristic of other students. Even among those with high grades there is an extremely large net loss of 38.9%. This loss is greater than the corresponding losses in the low performance groups in the other subcultures. No student with low grades in the non-conformist subculture retains his initial medical choice.

TABLE VII-43

Percent of Freshman and Senior Medical Career Choice by Performance Level (GPA) and Subculture Identification

Medical Career Choice	Performance Level (GPA)		
	Low (1.5 - 2.5)	Average (2.6 - 3.0)	High (3.1 - 4.0)
Freshman Year	44.3	54.9	44.4
Senior Year	12.3	39.6	42.4
Net Loss	32.0	15.3	2.0
N	106	91	99
Rate of Retention	23.4	70.0	79.5

Low Performance Level (1.5-2.8)

	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman	54.8	40.6	40.8	56.3
Senior	25.8	18.8	22.4	0
Net	-29.0	-21.8	-18.4	-56.3
N	31	32	76	16
Rate of Retention	41.2	38.5	51.6	0
N Initial Choosers	17	13	31	9

High Performance Level (2.9-4.0)

	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman	53.6	46.5	52.3	50.0
Senior	57.1	48.8	45.5	11.1
Net	+3.5	+2.3	-6.8	-38.9
N	28	43	44	18
Rate of Retention	93.3	85.0	82.6	22.2
N Initial Choosers	15	20	23	9

TABLE VII-44

Percent of Freshman and Senior Choice of College Teaching by Performance Level (GPA) and Subculture Identification

Choice of College Teaching	Performance Level (GPA)		
	Low (1.5 - 2.5)	Average (2.6 - 3.0)	High (3.1 - 4.0)
Freshman Year	2.8	8.8	11.1
Senior Year	5.7	14.3	25.3
Net Gain	2.9	5.5	14.2
N	106	91	99

Low Performance Level (1.2-2.8)

Choice of College Teaching	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman Year	12.9	3.1	2.6	6.2
Senior Year	6.5	12.5	3.9	18.8
Net	-6.4	+9.4	+1.3	+12.6
N	31	32	76	16

High Performance Level (2.9-4.0)

Choice of College Teaching	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman Year	3.6	18.6	2.3	22.2
Senior Year	14.3	27.9	6.8	61.1
Net	+10.7	+9.3	+4.5	+38.9
N	28	43	44	18

TABLE VII-45

Percent of Freshman and Senior Choice of Business by Performance Level (GPA) and Subculture Identification

Choice of Business	Performance Level (GPA)		
	Low (1.5 - 2.5)	Average (2.6 - 3.0)	High (3.1 - 4.0)
Freshman Year	8.5	2.2	3.0
Senior Year	28.3	14.3	8.1
Net Gain	+19.8	+12.1	+5.1
N	106	91	99

Low Performance Level (1.5-2.8)

Choice of Business	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman Year	3.2	6.2	7.9	6.2
Senior Year	25.8	18.8	28.9	31.3
Net	+22.6	+12.6	+21.0	+25.1
N	31	32	76	16

High Performance Level (2.9-4.0)

Choice of Business	Vocational	Academic	Collegiate Social	Non-Conformist
Freshman Year	0	2.3	4.5	0
Senior Year	0	7.0	13.6	0
Net	0	+5.3	+9.1	0
N	28	43	44	18

A similar effect is evident for the choice of college teaching (Table VII-44). The net percentage gain for this choice varies from 2.9% for those with the lowest grades to 14.2% among the highest level performers. However, this overall performance effect is considerably modified by subcultural orientation. (While initial choice of college teaching varies to a large extent between student subcultures and grade level groups, the net change in percent making this choice can still be considered a rough indicator of changing levels of inerest in the field.)

Only among vocational students does poor performance lead to a net loss in percent choosing college teaching. In this group, high grades are associated with a net increase which is commensurate with that in the academic subculture. Among the high performing collegiate students, few move into college teaching regardless of their grades. However, even low level performers with academic and non-conformist orientations move into college teaching. By the time of their senior year, 61% of the non-conformist students with high grades are aiming for college teaching, representing a net gain from the freshman year of almost 39%. (28% of senior academics aim for college teaching, 14% of vocationals, and 7% of the collegiates.

In contrast, movement into business from other, more academically demanding fields, is encouraged by low grades (Table VII-45). The net gain in percent choosing business ranges from 20% of those with the lowest academic performance level, to 5% among those with the highest grades. While among all subcultures, low level performance is associated with a net increase in percent choosing business, this increase is considerably smaller for the academically-oriented. Considering those with the higher grades, the gain among high level performing academics is somewhat smaller than for their counterparts among the collegiates. No student in the high performance vocational or non-conformist groups in this subsample chooses business in the freshman or the senior year.

Concluding Comments

The findings presented here provide clear evidence that there is a significant relationship between subcultural orientation and work values. They also show that students with different orientations have variant patterns of career choice change and retention. Even the effects of academic performance vary by subculture. The fact that students with dissimilar subcultural orientations move in distinct vocational directions during their college years lends some support to the argument that subcultures differentially reinforce student career choices through their support of characteristic occupational values.

However, this data does not permit any definitive conclusions regarding the causal effects of subcultures on changes in values or choices. Students may become attracted to the various campus subcultures because they already possess the same values and career choices which they associate with the campus groups. To make conclusions regarding causality, one would need much more extensive information on student values and occupational choices both before and after exposure to and activity in the campus subcultures. One would also need to specify the processes of selective recruitment to friendship groups and campus organizations which are identified with these subcultural orientations, and the actual processes by which subcultures may influence their members' career decisions. Further analyses of the data are proceeding along these lines.

Therefore, these results are merely suggestive at the present time. However, knowledge of the values which students with distinct subcultural orientations espouse, and the relative strength of campus subcultures at different times and places, affords a reasonable basis upon which changing occupational value emphases may be predicted. Much evidence indicates that students identified with the non-conformist subculture (the intellectually and aesthetically oriented and the politically concerned) are growing in numbers and influence at many campuses across the nation. This trend has been accompanied by a corresponding decline of the collegiate group, as many fraternities and sororities find themselves forced to open their doors to boarders, and as traditional campus activities either change greatly in spirit or disappear. One might predict that changes in orientations toward work and in the career choices which reflect them will occur which parallel the growth and decline of campus subcultures, as students of this college generation take their places in the occupational world.

CHAPTER VIII

Role-Innovation in Occupational Choice Among College Women

by Sandra F.S. Tangri[1]

This analysis was designed to discover what background, personality, or college experience characteristics might explain women's choice of occupations now dominated by men. Such a choice is referred to here as Role-Innovation and is measured simply by the sex-ratio in the occupation chosen by the woman at the time of her graduation from The University of Michigan. The greater the proportion of men in the occupation, the higher the Role-Innovation score.

The analyses described in this chapter are based on a sub-sample of 200 women seniors, chosen from the approximately 350 women who were part of our cohort that entered the university in 1963 and were administered questionnaires as seniors in 1967. The 200 were selected as follows. Using their choice of occupation as stated in their senior year questionnaires, all the women were classified as Role-Innovators (occupations with fewer than 30% women in them), "Moderates" (occupations with 30% to 50% women in them), and Traditionals (occupations with more than 50% women). Using this classification, approximately one in five of the 350 women fell into the innovator and moderate categories, and three of five into the traditional. All of the 65 role-innovators and 66 moderates were included in this study, and a random sample of 69 traditionals was selected for inclusion. Therefore, the final sample of 200 consists of one-third role innovators, one-third moderates, and one-third traditionals.

Most of the data in these analyses come from the extensive questionnaires given to these students in their senior year (Appendix B). In addition, it was possible to get 118 of these 200 women to take additional projective tests to measure some personality variables of particular concern in this study of occupational choice among college women (nAch and Motive to Avoid Success).

Other Occupation-Related Choices

In addition to the proportion of women in the occupation, another aspect of occupational choice considered part of role-innovation is the woman's commitment to the occupation, as expressed in her intention to work after, marriage, after having children, and how soon she would return to work after having children.

A series of other occupation-related choices were also examined for possible trends during the college period and for consistency among such choices. The process of occupational choice is treated as a sequence of choices which can all be identified in an identical manner. The choice of first and, where relevant, second undergraduate major; first and second graduate field of study; first and second occupational choice; and for the women who felt that their occupational choice represented a compromise of some kind, the occupation which they would in fact prefer to enter, can be represented by the relevant sex-ratio. In addition, a qualitative distinction was made between masculine and feminine fields as follows: physical science, math, law-business-government, and life science were considered "masculine;" and social science, humanities, and education were considered "feminine."

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[1] This chapter is adapted from the concluding chapter of Sandra Tangri's doctoral dissertation (See Appendix A).

Using these measures, several interesting features of the occupational choice process were discovered. For the sample as a whole, First Occupation is the most feminine choice made, and Preferred Occupation is the most masculine choice made. But for Innovators alone, Second rather than First Occupation is the most feminine, and they are less likely to feel that their First Occupation is a compromise. The difference in sex-ratio between these two choices is greatest for the Traditionals. Looking at the choice points named above as a sequence, there is a clear "feminizing" trend for the sample as a whole through the college period, using either the statistical or the qualitative definition of sex-typing. What seems to occur in the decisions made during the four years in college is an increase in sex-role stereotyping rather than an increase in diversification which a liberal arts education might be expected to produce. This stereotyping is particularly marked among Traditionals. There is greater homogeneity of interests of a stereotyped kind amont Traditionals at every choice point than among Innovators. We do not find a "reverse stereotype" of interests among Role-Innovators. What is different about the Role-Innovators as a group, is not the fields they choose, but the levels of accomplishment to which they aspire within those fields. Traditionals, on the other hand, not only have lower levels of aspiration, but as a group are more stereotyped in the fields of endeavor they choose.

Several other differences between Role-Innovators and Traditionals are also of special interest. Role-Innovators change fields less often than do Traditionals, and are therefore probably maximizing their performance. On the other hand, they are somewhat more likely to mention a Second Occupation than are Traditionals, and much more likely to mention a feminine occupation than Traditionals are to mention a masculine occupation. The mention of a more feminine Second Occupation by Role-Innovators suggests a kind of "insurance policy" against the risks of competing in a man's world. This kind of contingency planning may have longer-range effects on women's likelihood of shifting occupations at later stages of the life-cycle.

One of the most difficult arguments to deal with in the controversy over diversification of women's occupational roles is that since women are widely believed to have demonstrated so much weaker commitment to their careers than men, financial support for such Role-Innovators is not justified. Actual labor statistics show that the sex differential in time spent not working among those in the labor force is not very great when level of education or training is controlled. Furthermore, the rate of labor force participation is higher for women with more training than for those with less training. Data from the present study on commitment also suggest that the cause for the sex differential which does exist may not lie entirely with the women. For every measure of Commitment and every Occupational Choice, the more masucline the occupation, the greater is the woman's commitment. The Role-Innovators in this study express high commitment to their occupations and give great importance to the role of their career in their post-graducate lives. Given the strong personal motivation and commitment found in these women, their possible later failure to carry out these career intentions may be attributable to causes outside themselves.

Family Background

Among the background variables investigated, the most complex and interesting results involve the daughter's relationships with her parents. First of all, an item analysis dealing with closeness to parents, (Part III, Q24), being understood by parent(Q23), or agreeing with parent on values or college goals (Q25) did not provide a clear-cut empirical basis for combining items into a measure of identification with either parent. Therefore, in the absence of any a priori preference among these items as a measure of identification, no conclusion regarding the cross-sec parental identification hypothesis as a factor in Role-Innovation is possible. If all the items taken together are to be considered necessary components of parent-identification, then the evidence on the hypothesis has to be interpreted as negative.

For the sample as a whole, perceiving oneself as more like father than like mother (Part III, Q22) -- or like neither parent -- is associated with greater Role-Innovation. But having a particularly close or understanding relationships with father is not associated with Role-Innovation. Role-Innovators' relationship to mother is closer than to father but this does not include agreement on substantive issues. Feeling that mother does not understand one, and disagreeing with her on college goals are positively associated with Role-Innovation. The picture is one of substantial cognitive distance from both parents, warm feelings toward mother, but perceived similarity to father. Neither parent seems to be serving as a role-model, and perhaps the only basis for perceived similarity to father is the work-orientation per se.

The existence of some kind of religious dissidence within the home, stemming either from religious dissimilarity between parents or their common dissidence from the prevailing social climate (in the form of atheism or agnosticism) is positively related to Role-Innovation. This suggests that such homes have a "built-in" tolerance for difference or diversity, or perhaps simply greater stimulus to express differences. In either case, the effect on children in such a home is likely to be less stereotypic notions of marriage and family life, and this may generalize to sex-roles. There may simply be a liberating effect from the recognition that social survival does not depend on conformity to all the usual social mores. The same may apply to the existence of political or other areas of dissidence in the home.

Separate analyses were done for women whose mothers were college graduates, and those whose mothers had less education. What differs for the sub-sample of women with better-educated mothers, is that Role-Innovation is associated with perceived similarity to mother rather than father, an improvement in relationship with father, and greater disagreement with mother on college goals as well as less perceived understanding by her. The first two relationships suggest that better-educated mothers are more likely role models for Innovative daughters, and that the husbands of such mothers are more likely to be seen by such daughters as model role-*partners*. Such fathers may also be more willing than their wives to follow through the implications of shared family values for daughter's adult decisions. Or, their relationship with daughter may be better than either their wives' or the less-educated fathers' simply because occupationally they are more like what she wants to become. Since they are also likely to be more educated than fathers in general, their support of daughter's Role-Innovation should be more important to her. This interpretation is also consistent with the finding that both mother's and father's education are positively related to daughter's Role-Innovation. The fact that the negative relationships between daughter's Role-Innovation and disagreement on College Goals is weaker for the less-educated mothers than for the more educated mothers may be due to the larger role the latter group of mothers feel they can play in their daughter's choice of occupation. If their values are still traditional ones, this would increase the amount of explicit disagreement they would have with Innovative daughters.

Data on other aspects of family background give additional support to the hypothesis that role-modeling plays a role for some Role-Innovators. Maternal employment, masculinity of mother's occupation and mother's (as well as father's) education are all positively related to Role-Innovation. Role-Innovators from such better-educated homes where mother is probably working in a traditionally feminine profession, have probably taken for granted from an early age favorable parental attitudes toward higher education and career commitment for women. From our review of the literature, we know that such a background produces daughters with less stereotyped conceptions of sex-roles. With this greater freedom to consider alternative life-styles and commitments, the probability of a daughter choosing an Innovative occupation increases. However, for the parents, perhaps particularly for the mother, this may be an "*un*intended consequence" of their own life-style, and this together with their greater involvement in their daughter's choice may be the source of greater disagreement on substantive issues like the goals of a college education. The fact that *dis*agreement with either parent on *values* is *negatively* related to Role-Innovation for the sub-sample with better educated mothers but positively or unrelated for the sample as a whole, further supports this interpretation, since we assume that values about what is important in life are developed earlier, are more durable, and more central, than are the goals one sets for four years in college. To summarize, the Role-Innovative daughter of more educated parents is likely to find her mother an attractive role-model, her father an appropriate model role-partner, and to share many values with both parents. The interpretation and application of these models and values, however, being Innovative, lead to conflict with a mother who is not herself Innovative. Conflicts of this kind should be less with an Innovative mother.

A different picture emerges of Role-Innovators from less educated homes where we assume a different set of values and a different maternal model exist. From the differences in results between the total sample and the subsample enumerated above and supported by a separate analysis of the women with less-educated mothers, we can say that the Role-Innovative daughter in such homes faces greater psychological distance or autonomy on most dimensions and from both parents but not necessarily greater conflict. Her motivation may include mobility aspirations as well as achievement drives, and therefore evince less ambivalence toward-- or a more male-like pattern of -- various achievement concerns.

Although the results on effect of background factors on Role-Innovation are not surprising taken individually, it seems that to the parents of Role-Innovators, the outcome is inadvertent. To the daughter with the appropriate abilities, however, Role-Innovation may seem the only logical choice. This posture on the parent's part may be one of the sources of the ambivalence toward certain kinds of achievement which is revealed in the personality data.

Personality

The voluminous literature on need achievement, using the nAch projective measure of achievement motivation, has produced very conflicting results on women. This seems to reflect a number of issues: that typical feminine role expectations create special ambivalences about achievement for women; that achievement in women is partly expressed through the husband; that, as Smith (1968) has argued, the motive being assessed by nAch may have more to do with competitive striving in a context of social comparison, i.e., with extrinsically-based motivation, than with intrinsic effort toward excellence.

To tap this intrinsic motivation, and to take account of the relevance of the husband to a woman's achievement, three new measures of achievement motivation were developed for this study. Two of these were labelled "Demand Character of the Future Husband" (or "Husband's Demand") and "Demand Character of the Wife's Future" (or "Wife's Demand"). The Demand dimension is defined as the amount of demand an individual appears to make on herself for long-continuing effort, challenge, and risk-taking. Such demands might result from goals which are to be obtained only with difficulty; from a desired style of life which pushes the limits of the individual's capacity, or they may result from deeply-felt values which impose a need for difficult action.

Whereas nAch is defined in terms of concern with a publicly-defined standard of excellence, the Demand measure is defined in terms of a personal standard of maximum capability. For this reason, the latter seems to be a better approach to conceptualizing and ultimately to measuring, intrinsic achievement motivation.

Both of these Demand measures were coded from the responses to the open-ended question which asked students to describe the kind of person they wanted to marry (Question 89). Descriptions such as "a brilliant individual -- not afraid to take risks -- deep commitment to moral beliefs" are examples of high scores on Husband's Demand; "good sense of humor, relaxed" are examples of low scores. Wife's Demand was also scored from the woman's description of her ideal husband. Using the same definition of the Demand dimension, coders[2] were instructed to rate each husband-description in terms of the demands which would be imposed upon the writer by virtue of living with the man she describes. That is, would life with such a man demand from her effortful responses to major challenges, or would it involve little challenge, centering primarily around concern with security?

The third measure of achievement motivation developed for this study was called "Future Work Excellence." It is based on the coding of the responses to a question asking students to picture how they would like life to work out for them (Question 56); responses were coded for whether they included some mention of a concern with standards of excellence in connection with the woman's own occupation.

In addition to these three measures developed specifically for this study, we also adapted Horner's (1968) measure of Motive to Avoid Success, which is specifically relevant to the issue of women's ambivalence about achievement. According to Horner, an approach-avoidance conflict is aroused in high achievement-motivated women, because the desire to do well, if satisfied, places a woman in a position (of eminence, high rewards, superordinacy with respect to men) which is culturally proscribed.

Turning to the results, several of the achievement motivation measures developed for this study proved to be more effective in predicting Role-Innovation than nAch. Demand Character of the Future Husband, Demand Character of the Wife's Future and Future Work Excellence were significantly related to Role-Innovation in one or more analyses. Wife's Demand and Future Work Excellence, both considered here as measures of intrinsic motivation, are positively related to Role-Innovation. Husband's Demand, nAch, and Motive to Avoid Success are negatively related to Role-Innovation, but only Husband's Demand is significantly so (when other variables are controlled).

The findings on motivation patterns make a significant contribution toward the two issues raised regarding achievement motivation in women. First, we have found a new way of measuring intrinsic achievement motivation in women which predicts to vocational aspirations. Second, we have found common and differentiating patterns of achievement concerns which distinguish most women's concerns from that of Traditional women.

For Role-Innovators and Traditionals two independent and antagonistic clusters of achievement related variables consist of the two Demand variables and Future Work Excellence taken as indices of intrinsic motivation on the one hand, and Importance of Advancement and Salary (Question 79) taken as indices of extrinsic motivation on the other hand. For Role-Innovators only, nAch appears to be part of the extrinsic motivation cluster. Thus, for both groups of women (and the sample as a whole) intrinsic achievement motivation is incompatible with extrinsic achievement motivation. It seems few women can be motivated by both, and most of the women who pursue Innovative careers are intrinsically rather than extrinsically motivated.

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[2] Different coders than the ones who coded the same protocols for Husband's Demand.

However, on three out of five measures of extrinisic achievement motivation, Role-Innovators score somewhat higher than Traditionals, indicating that some proportion of Role-Innovators have what is generally found to be a "masculine" pattern of achievement concerns. To the extent that some Role-Innovators are motivated by social or extrinsic rewards, they may consist largely of women from less-educated homes who are striving for upward mobility "on their own hook" rather than through their husbands to-be. It is probably these women to whom the more masculine pattern of combined intrinsic and extrinsic conerns, or predominantly extrinsic concerns, apply. These Role-Innovators would have less of the Fear Success ambivalence evinced by their more exclusively intrinsically motivated sisters.

Among Role-Innovators, Motive to Avoid Success is significantly negatively correlated with Importance of Leadership (Question 108), suggesting that prominence, particularly among males, rather than achievement in the sense of classical need achievement theory, is a source of anxiety among Role-Innovators. Thus, of all the social rewards for excellence, prominence appears to be the most unwanted probably because it is seen as incompatible with femininity and/or with female sex role requirements, as revealed by the themes in the Fear Success TATs.

Several results support the hypothesis that Traditionals tend more than Role-Innovators to displace their achievement concerns onto future husband, whereas Role-Innovators are more likely to generalize from their own benerally high level of Demand to expectations for future husband. The correlation between Wife's and Husband's Demand is significantly lower among Traditionals than among Role-Innovators, and the Traditionals have a significantly lower mean score than the Role-Innovators on Wife's Demand, though there is no difference between the two groups in mean Husband's Demand. Also, Motive to Avoid Success is greater among Traditionals and more likely to be associated with low scores on Husband's Demand, further supporting the displacement hypothesis by showing its probably source in anxiety about success.

There are probably several types of Traditionals, too. The majority must be women whose achievement motivation has always been low, or has been so thoroughly sublimated into socially acceptable avenues (i.e., onto future husband), that they do not score very high on Wife's Demand. I believe the latter process is the more likely in this particular population. For these latter women, scoring on Husband's Demand is "true" displacement. The first type of woman would not score as high on Husband's Demand and this is what reduces the correlation between these two measures among the Traditionals. The Traditonals who are seeking only upward mobility through conventional means (i.e., via future husband) and not sublimating their own achievement drive would score low on both Demand measures. Following Horner's (1968) theory that the women who are not high in achievement motivation would also not be anxious about success, and therefore, freer to express achievement themes on the TAT, we may postulate that the women scoring low on both Demand measures would also be lower on Fear Success, and therefore have less depressed nAch scores. This group of Traditionals would then be the ones contributing to the weak *negative* relationship between nAch and and Role-Innovation.

Taking the remaining personality findings together the following portrait of the Role-Innovator emerges. The Role-Innovator's reasons for choosing a vocation and continuing in it are individualistic and because it gives her personal satisfaction. Some of the most extremely Innovative women are also achievement-oriented in the social comparison sense. In contrast to the Traditional woman who expects to live through and for others, the Role-Innovator expects to make a life for herself, through her own efforts. The emphasis on autonomy is further strengthened by her tolerance for delayed marital gratification (Question 98) and later closure on choice of occupation, and her self-description on the self-concept bi-polar adjectives (Question 105) as relying more on her own (rather than others') opinions, being more unconventional, and having others depend on her (rather than her depending on others). She tends to have somewhat more untraditional attitudes on sex roles, but hardly a recognizable feminist ideology. She is less concerned than the Traditional about her husband being a good family man and more concerned that he allow her to pursue her own career. She describes herself on the self-concept question as less extremely Feminime than does the Traditional, and is somewhat more likely to mention Masculine qualities among the traits she would desire in a husband. The last finding may reflect a need for an adequately masculine role-partner to reassure her sense of femininity which is challenged in her vocational or non-domestic social setting.

What one may consider the psychological costs of this freer posture are expressed in feeling greater conflict between marriage and having a carrer (Question 104), describing oneself as "not too successful" on the self-concept question, feeling that one is "always acting-not being myself," (Q.111o) and worrying about identity questions ("Who Am I?) (Question 112).

College Experience

The characterization of the Role-Innovator as an autonomous individual does not preclude the necessity for her to have some source of social support in order to continue pursuit of her chosen vocation. This might be most essential to the Role-Innovators who had taken familial values for granted until discovering that their own implementation of those values leads to conflict with parents. The most likely source for such support should be faculty in her chosen field, assuming their response to students is based on universalistic criteria and their concern with subject-matter is greater than their concern with sex-role traditions. Furthermore, without the encouragement of some faculty memeber, it would be very difficult for a woman to stay in a highly male-dominated field, because of the critical role such advisors play in obtaining access to the resources of an academic department, and, when appropriate, being admitted to graduate studies.

On the other hand, the major source of anxiety regarding achievement as revealed in the Fear Success themes is rejection by male peers. The reassurance of a male role-partner may be particularly critical at this stage of the life-cycle when most women are committing themselves to long-term marital security.

The most interesting results to come from the college experience data concern the role of male peers. The experience of these Role-Innovators does not justify the extreme fears of ostracization expressed in the TAT stories for Motive to Avoid Success. Instead of social rejection and lack of attractiveness to the opposite sex, we find first of all, that there is no significant difference between Role-Innovators and Traditionals in the number of romantic relationships they include among their ten closest friends. Furthermore, the number of non-romantic males included among their ten closest friends is significantly larger than that reported by Traditionals. Since Role-Innovators would tend to have more male classmates, these are probably contributing to this difference.

If we may consider this a real discrepancy between male peers' actual attitudes and women's expectations of these attitudes, the finding parallels McKee and Sherriff's (1959) that in talking about what boys want in an ideal girl, high school girls impute even more stereotyped attitudes to boys than the boys themselves have. Although such discrepancies may be the result of real "pluralistic ignorance," they may also reflect the difference in risk to each sex represented by the different views. By behaving (and believing) in terms of more traditional standards, a girl maximizeds the number of men who would consider her marriageable (since more men would reject a prospective wife for being too avant-garde than for being too traditional), and therefore minimizes her risk of being mate-less. A boy, on the other hand, by expressing in words and behavior more tolerance for feminine "nontraditionality" increases the number of girls he has access to and runs no additional risk of remaining mate-less.

The importance of the male friend's attitude as a factor contributing to Role-Innovation is indicated by several findings. The small number of women whose men friends said they would disapprove of their wife having a career averaged markedly lower scores on Role-Innovation than the women whose men friends said they would either approve or not mind it.[3] The women whose men friends gave as reasons for her having a career the attractions or benefits it would have for herself, were more Role-Innovative than the women whose men friends gave reasons in terms of obligations (e.g., to use her education) or avoidance of negative consequences if she didn't work (e.g., boredom). Treating these reasons as "liberal" and "traditional," respectively, male friends' liberal attitudes towards women's careers is positively related to respondent's Role-Innovation. Finally, having more steady, serious relationships with a Teaching Fellow or Laboratory Assistant in one's own field (as suggested by greater frequency of contact, with fewer such persons) is positively related to Role-Innovation. This result is similar to Wallace's finding (1964, see p. 44) that Freshman girls who want graduate training probably adopt "non-freshman boys as a reference group for their own adult career aspirations" (p. 315) because they can be perceived as prestigeful, freer from cultural constraints, and more likely to be thinking about graduate school themselves. All of these considerations which make the non-Freshman boy a source of Innovative role support, apply even better to the graduate student who is a teaching assistant. With a more adequate study designed specifically to investigate the "boyfriend hypothesis" it seems likely that the supportive male peer would prove to be the most "liberating" factor in the college woman's experience.

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[3] These results are based on the questionnaire and interview responses of the men friends who were part of the sample of the broader study, not on our women's perceptions of their men friend's attitudes.

Other faculty and female friends were found to have a mildly positive influence on Role-Innovation; Mother and other relatives a definitely negative or conservative influence; and Father a positive influence only when other factors are controlled. There is also evidence of indirect support from female peers in the form of value-congruence regarding importance given to career and untraditional attitudes towards sex-role, but these feeling are not in themselves strong enough to support the hypothesis that selected female peers provide a supportive sub-culture for the Role-Innovator.

So far we have been treating each result as independent evidence regarding the characteristics of the Role-Innovator. The portrait which emerges when these results are considered simultaneously can be considered a characterization of "the most likely" Role-Innovator in this sample. But some of the results suggest a variation which might be associated with the class origin of the Role-Innovator. Among these results are the negative relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation on the one hand, and the finding that Role-Innovators tend to be higher in both of these kinds of motivation than are Traditionals; and the somewhat different results regarding relationship with parents when mother's education is controlled. The following section describes four plausible socialization sequences in which certain background characteristics are seen to be critical.

A Socialization Typology

Three assumptions were made in putting the various factors shown to be asociated with Role-Innovation into a plausible developmental sequence: (1) a similar distribution of talents exists in each section of the sample divided by parents' education and mother's work history; (2) achievement motivation is more likely to develop in women from better-educated homes and mobility aspirations are more likely to develop in women from less-educated homes; and (3) that the college-educated women in this study are more likely to take their mother as a role-model if she too has at least a B.A. degree than if she does not.

The daughter of the better-educated working mother and father grows up in a family where: (a) mother's higher education and career commitment are valued by both parents; (b) these values and the mother's working are likely to decrease sex-typing in the division of labor between the parents in the home; and (c) she (the daughter) receives the greater independence training or opportunity which are associated with maternal employment. Such daughters should be high in achievement motivation, low in sex role stereotypy, take the mother as an appropriate model, i.e., as a working wife and mother, and share the parent's values about what is important in life. Given a random distribution of talents in such daughters, a greater number of them will develop "masculine" interests than would be the case in a home where fewer such permissive or facilitating factors exist. These conditions, then, are likely to produce both high levels of achievement motivation and "masculine" interests. However, given that most of these mothers are themselves in traditionally feminine occupations, their attitude toward a very Innovative occupational choice on the part of their daughter, with its attendant implications of delayed marriage and diminished orientation toward domestic gratifications, is likely to be negative. Such mothers may perceive such a choice as a rejection of their own style of life--even though it grows out of that style--or as too risky to the achievement of more valued tradiitonal roles. Since such mothers are also likely to be high in achievement motivation themselves, they may treat the Role-Innovative daughter as a competitor in the vocational sphere. Because of her own educational and vocational accomplishments the mother feels free to advise her daughter in these matters and thus provides the occasion for explicit airing of disagreements. This conflict with mother over the daughter's application of values which have been shared may have become open only recently (during college), but the attitudes and assumptions which limit the mother's ability to support a Role-Innovative daughter's decision must have been presented to the daughter in less direct forms earlier. This history and present conflict with mother may be a source of the ambivalence toward achievement on the daughter's part which is expressed in Fear Success stories whose theme is alientation from other females.

The relationship with father need not be complicated thus. Neither his personal style of life nor his "competitive edge" are challenged by a Role-Innovative daughter. His role vis-a-vis daughter's decision-making may then depend on what he thinks marital loyalty requires of him in the mother-daughter conflict. Not only the father's role, but that of other males as well, may be critical at this stage. Relationships with the opposite sex are a critical part of the women's self-esteem at this point; for many women a single such relationship takes on overwhelming implications for her future, and for almost all women this time in their lives (at college) is seen as their best opportunity to establish such a relationship. The greater the would-be Innovator's ambivalence over achievement, the more critical a role her father, male professors, and boyfriend(s) may play. Since she can exercise active preferment only in choice of boyfriend, the values and attitudes of this person are both a guage of her own set of priorities and an important source of reinforcement for those. But even if adequate role-support is forthcoming from each or all of these male sources, complete dedication to a

Role-Innovative way of life may not be possible unless one is fully emanicpated from the influence of the mother. Otherwise, the ambivalence generated by conflict with her (and with the prevailing social traditions which she represents) will manifest itself in the daughter's willingness to relinquish those social rewards for high levels of accomplishment which we have called extrinsic motivators.

Several elements in this sequence are quite different for the daughter of the better-educated but non-working mother. The status of the parents in this family is again likely to produce fairly high achievement motivation and to make the mother an acceptable role-model for the daughter, but in this case she is a non-working model. This means that the values of both parents are more traditional and the division of labor within the home is more sex-typed. The daughter presumably shares these more traditional values and acquires more stereotypic notions about sex roles in general. Conflict with either parent is minimal, but the achievement concerns which cannot be translated into personal aspirations under this value system, are then displaced onto the only acceptable target for this purpose, one's future husband. It is also likely to be focused on the woman's children later, particularly sons. This displacement mechanism is fed by the conflict between a personal drive for achievement and a value system which penalizes the personal satisfaction of such a drive. The intensity of this conflict is assessed by the Fear Success measure. The Motive to Avoid Success derives its strength from the combined sanctioning power of a respected mother role-model and prevailing social norms. When these operate in the same direction, and there is no ambivalence on the part of the mother towards her own role, the outcome seems over-determined. Some of the daughter's achievement concerns may take the form of greater commitment to a traditional occupation than would be the case for other Traditionals not motivated by achievement concerns. Peers and boyfriend(s) would again be selected such that the value system, a traditional one in this case, is reinforced.

The case of the Role-Innovator from a less-educated home in which the mother works presents several points of contrast with the first type of Role-Innovator. Some of the consequences of mother's working are the same: less role stereotypy insofar as acceptability of women working, but perhaps not as much with respect to division of labor in the home, and greater autonomy in the daughter which contributes to the development of achievement motivation. However, the kind of work the mother does is likely to be less prestigeful and done more for financial reasons than for personal satisfaction of any motives. In this situation, the mother is a less attractive role-model, and her status will engender mobility aspirations in the daughter in addition to achievement motivation. This combination of concerns resembles the masculine pattern more than does that of the first type of Role-Innovator. The relative lack of ambivalence toward achievement here may be attributed to the greater degree of autonomy from both parents, but particularly from mother. Religious or other forms of dissidence within the home may contribute to greater resistance to (traditional) normative pressures from outside the home. Since the father is likely to be better educated than his wife but probably not as educated as the fathers with educated wives, their ability or willingness to provide role-support to Innovative daughters may be limited to her desire to have a career, but not necessarily to her choice of an Innovative career, a situation parallel to that of the better-educated mother vis-a-vis her Role Innovative daughter. The Innovative daughter who finds her mother's position unenviable because it seems to involve not the best but the least desirable of both worlds -- a low-status, less remunerative occupation without much reduction in domestic burdens -- may be less intimidated by the prospect of delayed marriage than her more conventionally socialized counterpart. Her mother may also convey substantial ambivalence about the dual role, which we would not expect of the more educated working mother. Therefore, she may be able to persevere in her aspirations more easily in the absence of an appropriate male to provide her role support.

The daughter of less educated parents whose mother does not work grows up in a rather conventional mold, both with respect to values and autonomy. There is likely to be some desire for upward mobility through conventional channels, i.e., through husband, and the early choice of a Traditional occupation is consistent with such aspirations.

In conclusion, several widely accepted notions about the kinds of women who aspire to male-dominated professions may be laid to rest. They do not show evidence of having identified with their fathers in preference over their mothers. In fact, more educated working mothers, particularly those who are themselves in more male-dominated occupations, are taken as role-models by such daughters. A four-part typology of the women in the sample is suggested in which role-modeling and the type of maternal model available are related to the occupational choice of the women. A sample designed to include adequate numbers of different maternal models would make it possible to test this typology. Role-Innovative women do not reject the core female roles of wife and mother, through they expect to postpone marriage and have fewer children than more traditional women; nor do they think of themselves as "masculine" women. There is no evidence that they make such occupational plans because of difficulty in attracting the opposite sex, since they have as many romantic as well as casual relationships with men as do more traditional college women. Their commitment to their careers is greater than that of women going into feminine professions even while they are in college, so that the decision to continue working cannot be viewed as merely being made by default when other alternatives fail.

The characteristics discovered to differentiate Role-Innovators and Traditionals most strongly are personality-motivational factors. As compared to the women going into feminine professions, they are more autonomous, individualistic, and motivated by internally imposed demands to perform to capacity. They also express more doubts about their ability to succeed and about identity, which reflect the fact that the roles they have chosen are more difficult in standards of performance and more ambiguous in social meaning. Although faculty in their major field and female college friends provide some role-support, a tolerant or supportive boyfriend seems more important at this stage of the life-cycle, particularly perhaps for women more thoroughly socialized into middle-class mores.

CHAPTER IX

Some Concluding Comments

The separate chapters of this report have presented summaries of the detailed findings of the various analyses from the study that we have included in the monograph. This chapter will be confined to some overall generalizations and implications.

Perhaps the most striking impression from the data in this study is the contrast between students' attitudes and reactions to their experience at an elite multiversity that are reflected in the responses to our questionnaires and interviews, and the turmoil and confrontations of students and institutions like this that were taking place in the time our data were gathered. The great majority of students in our study were fairly satisfied, if somewhat bland, about their four years at Michigan. Only a small minority were actively critical. This is true not only of the political activists but of students critical of the educational experience as well. Only 15 percent of our seniors, after four years in what is usually described as a depersonalizing dehumanizing experience in a multiversity, ended up feeling that they might have preferred the more intimate, individually-oriented setting provided by a small residential college within the larger university.

Nor can one say that all the actively dissatisfied potential critics dropped out before completing the four years. A previous report of the dropouts from our sample (Gurin, Newcomb, and Cope, 1968) indicated that dropouts were not the active critics; more often they were students from more traditional, small town, less cosmopolitan backgrounds whose values and orientations were somewhat incongruent with those of a cosmopolitan, intellectually oriented university.

It is interesting that even the seniors we studied who were actively critical--the political activists and the educational critics--were not completely rejecting of the University. While critical and indicating many disappointments, they were also students who, in a sense, had gotten more from the University. They were more open and responsive to their four year experience--they changed more in intellectual interests and liberalizing values, they more often found at least some faculty and courses that had unusual meaning and impact for them.

There are several reasons for the striking calm revealed in these responses of students in the 1960's, a calm that is not peculiar to Michigan but documented in other intensive college studies of this period (e.g. Katz's (1968) study of Berkeley and Stanford). To some extent this reflects the fact that even in a period of great protest and upheaval most people live narrowly-bounded lives, concerned with the tasks before them and their immediate social worlds. To some extent it is a tribute to the maintenance and integrative mechanisms that develop in a complex institution, that enable the institution to get its work done while keeping at least some minimal commitment of its members. In this study we have focussed particularly on the complex ways in which friendships and student groups serve this function.

Most critics of the University, particularly the multiversity, have used arguments like this to minimize the significance of the fact that a random sample of students tends to be relatively satisfied with their university experience. Most often the students are subtly blamed for their lack of criticism; they are described as narrow, apathetic, passive. While there is undoubtedly some justification for such characterizations, and the moderate satisfaction revealed in a sample survey is no sign that all is right with the world, more seriousness should be given to what the students we survey are telling us. In this study one thing we feel they are telling us is that the multiversity is not an unmitigated evil. The great diversity of alternatives and models that it offers enables some students to test and choose and develop: women making a very difficult occupational choice that challenges the usual sex stereotyping find faculty and friends (particularly among the men) who support and encourage that choice; faculty and peer subcultures also support men who are shifting the nature and bases of their choice; even the student critics of the University find some courses and faculty that have been unusually meaningful and influential. We can even see ways in which the much-decried anonymity and size of the multiversity can have its advantages. In some ways it provides an ideal arena for the identity "moratorium", for testing and trying out different alternatives before making one's identity commitments. To some extent this may require a certain amount of distance and freedom from constant interaction within one small community, particularly for a person who, during this period of testing, wants to move in several very different worlds. Our data have also suggested that a multiversity as opposed to a smaller residential college may be particularly important for an intellectual woman trying to integrate her intellectual interests with the demands on her for intimacy and sexuality. Large institutions are a fact of our lives and we will probably be more helpful if we recognize some of their advantages and focus on maximizing these, rather than indulging in over-generalized indictments.

However, to point up some of the positive aspects of the multiversity does not deny the validity or seriousness of the criticisms. If we look, as we do in this study, for what the students tell us about the issues, the first point to stress is that active criticism, while it comes from only a minority of the students, comes from those who are the most intellectually involved, responsive, and committed. This is true of both student activists and educational critics. We cannot, as some have attempted to do, discount the student protests and criticisms that erupted in the 1960's as coming from malcontents not involved in the educational and intellectual endeavor.

Nor can we easily discount the kinds of issues they have pointed up. While the multiversity offers a variety of choices and resources, it seems clear that this is mainly of value to students who already have the strengths and certainties about their life directions to make use of the diversity. Others can get overwhelmed and react by retreat and encapsulation. While some women have used university models and resources to help them make innovative role choices, the general tendency is for women's occupational choices to become more rather than less traditional through the four year experience; while men students changing their career plans find students supporting their new choices, those who are not changing also find peer support; student organizations seem to play a particularly important role for students interested in warding off rather than responding to the university's challenge; while the multiversity would seem to be an ideal environment for the "identity seeker", the diversity seems somewhat overwhelming to those who are still too open-ended and uncertain about some of their basic commitments and values--these students seem particularly to need the personal support more available at a small college or sub-college than at a multiversity for help in the process of searching for self-definition and commitment; while all students find friends in a multiversity, those more vulnerable and sensitive and less socially confident find the process of getting friends more painful and problematic, and are also less able to integrate these friendships within a broader community; while some students are able to form meaningful relationships with faculty, even the most involved and interested students are not able to form many such relationships in the multiversity.

In short, a major problem of the educational environment provided in the multiversity is that it does not maximize the potential challenge and stimulation of its diversity. It neither forces the challenge on the students who choose to encapsulate themselves in familiar environments and pass through the four year experience relatively unaffected, nor does it help those who are overly responsive to the challenge from getting overwhelmed. From these failings spring the two major issues in the criticisms of the multiversity that were highlighted in this report--the impersonality and the lack of intellectual intensity and excitement. The first reflects the lack of support; the second the lack of challenge.

We are suggesting that the limitations in the multiversity are not as clear or one-sided as they are usually pictured. The issue of what to do about these limitations is, of course, even more complex. If we look again for suggestions from what the students are telling us, perhaps the first thing to stress is that different students are telling us different things. Particularly, in this report, we have attempted to distinguish between the protests of the educational critics and the political activists. While both criticisms come from intellectually involved and responsive students, the nature of the criticism differs sharply. The educational critics are calling for a more individualized learning experience, one that is directed toward the student's broader personal and social development as well as his intellectual learning. This makes them particularly critical of the mass and impersonal learning environment of the multiversity. The activists do not share this concern with personal developmental issues. Their focus is on the university as it reflects and relates to the broader society. They have no special criticism of the multiversity as an educational environment; their criticism is a general one of American colleges and universities and the role they play in our society.

We have felt it important to distinguish the two forms of protest because they call for very different solutions and reforms. There has been a tendency to obscure this issue, particularly to see various reforms that are addressed mainly to the issues raised by educational critics, as somehow an answer to student activism. This is particularly self-deluding in a time of limited resources when priorities have to be set, and it is important to recognize that reforms that meet certain issues and needs not only do not also take care of all other problems but might actually preclude an investment in dealing with those problems.

We would like particularly to examine some implications of these comments for those who have been primarily concerned with reform of the university's educational environment. This study was conceived in the early 1960's as part of a tradition of intensive, longitudinal studies of college students. While these studies differed in many ways, they shared some common perspectives. They tended to be concerned with the broad personal developmental issues a student faced, and with the educational criticism and reforms that followed this concern. The work of Katz (1968) and Chickering (1969) are fine examples of work within that tradition. It is therefore appropriate to conclude with some re-evaluation of our position on some of these issues, as influenced by some of our study findings, as well as by the events on and off University campuses in the 1960's.

One point to be recognized, documented by this and other studies is that educational reforms derived from this broad developmental perspective are addressing the active, conscious desires and demands of a minority of students. They are a minority not only because most students approach college with more defined and limited interests and goals, but because even those who are making major demands on universities--like the student activists and the Black students--are focussing on different kinds of issues.

To say that they are a minority is not to deny their need nor to deny the significance of the types of reforms that have been proposed and to some extent been instituted in the past decade. The need to break down rigidities and provide more flexibility and choice, the virtue of encouraging more initiative and self-directed learning, the need for faculty more involved in undergraduate teaching, the importance of integrating learning and experience, are not only significant for students actively involved in these issues, but ultimately will provide a more meaningful education for most students in our universities. The hard questions arise when we go beyond such general recommendations to those demanding allocations of scarce resources, and priorities have to be set with the other demands and needs of mass education, and the role universities should play in relation to our societal needs.

It would not be fair to suggest that the developmental approach to education has been concerned only with the needs of an elite minority of students. On the contrary, it has probably been more concerned with the mass of students who are not engaged in intense self-questioning and self-evaluation, and with the need for the educational experience to challenge and move these students toward a broader, more open, and more autonomous life perspective. But the intensive studies of college students suggest that striking life-changes do not occur very often in the college years, and that it is not just because the educational experience presented is not challenging, but because personality change tends to be limited in the adult years. Again, the point we are making is not that it is not important to make the educational experience presented in our universities more stimulating and challenging. But we have probably been overly optimistic in our expectations of what such reforms would accomplish for most students, or the investment it would require to make it accomplish more.

One final comment is relevant to any discussion of educational reform in a period when reform has received a tremendous impetus from student protest and confrontation. There is a danger that we have become overly-reactive in our response to student protest, that the impetus for reform of our institutions will die out when the protest and confrontation cease. This is particularly a problem with respect to educational reform, since student demands in this area do not tend to lead to the type of protest and confrontation that cannot be evaded. We can look to students to point up what the significant issues are and what reforms are needed; but the responsibility for change and for keeping alive the desire for change lies with all of us.

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APPENDIX A

Doctoral Dissertations Conducted on Data From the Study

The following seven completed doctoral dissertations were based on analyses of the data in this study:

John Gordon Albinson: "Life Styles of Physically Active and Physically Inactive College Males," University of Michigan School of Education, 1969.

Robert Gary Cope: "Differential Characteristics of Entering Freshmen, Environmental Presses and Attrition at a Liberal Arts College," University of Michigan Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1967.

Philip A. Mann: "Emotional Comparison and Friendships: The Role of Anxiety and Defensive Style," University of Michigan Department of Psychology, 1968.

John Garton Nikkari: "Freshman-to-Senior Personality Changes in Basic Collegiate Student Nurses as Compared to Changes in Females in a Liberal Arts College in a Large Midwestern State University," University of Michigan Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1969.

John Richard O'Connor: "Interpersonal Power and Balance: Attraction as Property and Component of Social Systems," University of Michigan Doctoral Program in Social Psychology, 1967.

Marion Carol Stringham: "Factors Pertaining to the Utilization or Non-Utilization of Psychological Counseling Services in a Liberal Arts College," University of Michigan Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1969.

Sandra F. S. Tangri: "Role-Innovation in Occupational Choice Among College Women," University of Michigan Doctoral Program in Social Psychology, 1970.

In addition to the above dissertations, the following four have completed first drafts and are scheduled for completion in the fall of 1971.

Judith A. Brailey: "Identity Issues Among College Freshmen and Senior Women," University of Michigan Center for the Study of Higher Education.

Harold C. Doster: "Religious Attitudinal Change in Undergraduates at the University of Michigan: 1962-1967," University of Michigan Center for the Study of Higher Education.

Elaine Hockman: "The Validation of Interindividual and Intra-Individual Change Measures," University of Michigan School of Education.

Jeylan Mortimer: "Occupational Value Orientations and the Career Decision Among Men College Students," University of Michigan Department of Sociology.

The following pages present the abstracts of the Albinson, Mann, Nikkari, O'Connor and Stringham dissertations. The Cope dissertation on attrition was expanded considerably and presented in a report covering the early years of this longitudinal study (Gurin, Newcomb and Cope, 1968.) The Tangri dissertation is more fully presented in Chapter VIII of the present report.

Life Styles of Physically Active and Physically Inactive College Males

by

John Gordon Albinson

The purpose of the study was to investigate the relationship between the physical activity and the life styles of college males. Physical activity and life style data were collected on 220 randomly selected freshmen enrolled in the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, The University of Michigan in the fall of 1963.[1] Data collection was repeated on 46 of the original sample when they were seniors during the 1966-67 academic year.

The samples were divided, by a median break, into high and low physically active groups on the basis of the 1.5 Peak WMR/BMR's which is defined as the lowest of the work to basal metabolic ratios comprising the most strenuous 1.5 hours per week for an individual. The same analyses were run on the freshman and senior data. Significance of the differences on individual measures was tested by use of the one way analysis of variance statistic and the sign test was used to find the significance of the trends which appeared in the data. With one exception, no statistically significant differences were found on the individual measures, as shown by the analysis of variance. The sign test analysis revealed some apparent trends.

In general, there were no statistically significant differences between the life styles of individuals who maintain a high level of physical activity and of individuals who do not maintain a high level of physical activity. The lack of significant findings may have been the result of the selectiveness of the sample. Another possible reason for the lack of significant findings may be that the value placed on physical activity in the early adolescent's culture may not be a value in the later adolescent culture. With this value not present, the psychological variables associated with physical activity reported in the literature, which primarily dealt with the early adolescent population, may not be present in the late adolescent culture.

However, if we look at the significant sign tests which appeared, there were some suggestive tendencies in the data. A high level of physical activity tended to be associated with a life style that was characterized by a better self concept, a greater social orientation toward life, and a smaller range of leisure activities than that which is associated with a low level of physical activity.

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[1] The physical activity data were separately collected and collated with the data on attitudes, values and self-concepts from the broader study.

As a result of the sign test of the freshman data, the high actives appeared to be more conservative with regard to religion, political and social views, than the low actives, but in senior data the high actives appeared to be more liberal than the low actives. This reversal may have been a result of the environmental press of the university in which the study took place. The university has a national reputation for being highly intellectually-aesthetically oriented and for being very liberal. It was hypothesized that the high actives could not or did not choose to gain status by meeting the intellectual aesthetic press but rather used liberalism as the avenue to gain prestige and status.

Emotional Comparison and Friendships: The Role of Anxiety and Defensive Style

by

Philip A. Mann[1]

The purpose of this study is to test the applicability of the theory of emotional comparison processes to friendships. In brief, that theory states that under conditions of high anxiety, people tend to seek out others whose emotions are similarly aroused in order to evaluate the appropriateness of their own reactions. This study attempts to extend the theory from affiliative behavior in the laboratory stiuation to the more life-like area of friendships.

A number of factors found to influence the emotional comparison process are identified from the literature. These include the conditions of emotional arousal, individual differences in anxiety and defensive style, and the degree of similarity-dissimilarity between the friends. The study compares the effects of these factors on general attractedness to others and on the importance given to bases of specific friendships which could facilitate emotional comparison. Other tests made in the study are the effects of power motivation on the tendency to perceive the friend as superior or inferior, and the effects of defensive style on similarity between the friends, the accuracy with which the friend is perceived, and the stability of the friendship.

Subjects are male and female college students. The Alpert-Haber anxiety scale, the Impulse Expression scale of the Omnibus Personality Inventory, and the Thematic Apperception Test scored for need Power are used as measures of individual differences. Data on friendships consists of responses to questionnaires and interviews.

The chief findings are that the individual difference measures are generally more effective for females than for males, and that anxiety predicts general attractedness to others, while defensive style predicts the importance given to specific bases of friendships. Power motivation is unrelated to the perceived superiority-inferiority of the friend. Defensive style by itself does not affect objective similarity, accuracy or stability in a reliable fashion, and it is necessary to consider aspects of the particular relationship between the friends, such as similarity in defensive style, reciprocation, and closeness of interaction to predict accuracy and similarity. Deniers tend to perceive more similarity to their friend when they are different from their friend in defensive style than when they are similar to their friend in this respect.

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[1] Further analyses of the data after completion of the dissertation qualified and amplified some of the results presented in the dissertation. For a later statement see Philip A. Mann, "Effects of Anxiety and Defensive Style on Some Aspects of Friendship," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 18, No. 1, 55-61.

From the results, it may be concluded that individual differences alone are not sufficient to understand emotional comparison processes in friendships, and that it is critically important to consider the various features of the relationship itself as well as individual differences. Defensive style is identified as one individual difference that can contribute to this understanding which has not been used in previous studies. The results imply that emotional comparison occurs in most friendships, but that it differs in kind from one friendship to another. The self-evaluation that occurs with emotional comparison may not necessarily be veridical. The implications of these findings for the theory and for future research are discussed.

Freshman-To-Senior Personality Changes in Basic Collegiate Student Nurses as Compared to Changes in Females in a Liberal Arts College in a Large Midwestern State University

by

John Garton Nikkari

Nursing and nursing education have a serious manpower shortage to meet the health care needs of the society. The demand for expert nursing care has been spurred on by rapidly expanding developments and programs in the health fields and a growing consciousness of preventive medicine. But little research has been conducted on the nursing student in basic collegiate programs, one of the primary sources of leadership personnel, including nursing educators. The basic aim of this study was to identify the student nurses' entrance characteristics and then ascertain the degree and type of personality changes occurring in student nurses which resulted from their experiences both within the School of Nursing and within the university.

Through the use of questionnaires and the Omnibus Personality Inventory, the test-retest approach was selected to obtain the data. The entire incoming classes of freshman student nurses for the Fall semesters of the 1962-63 and 1963-64 academic years were chosen and followed in a longitudinal fashion over a period of four years.[1] There were 447 student nurses in the sample to test the entrance characteristics, and 48 student nurses in the sample for the study of personality changes. The chi square statistic was used for computer analysis of the data, supplemented by t tests and F values of the differences between the mean scores.

Three sets of dependent variables were used as guidelines in studying the entrance characteristics of the students: Cosmopolitan vs. Noncosmopolitan background; Self vs. Collectivistic orientation; and Familistic vs. Family Advancement orientation. Next, fourteen "critical experiences" of the student nurses which might account for differing degree and type of personality changes in the student nurses and LSA females were described. These "critical experiences" were grouped into three dimensions: Commitment to and Identity with Nursing Role; Exposure to Correct Attitudes and Values; and Crises and Conflicts. There were four major hypotheses:

1. When the entrance characteristics of the three student nurse groups are compared, student nurse graduates will be most collectivistic, familistic oriented, and noncosmopolitan, whereas transfer students will be most self-oriented, family advancement oriented, and cosmopolitan.

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[1] While the focus of the broad study was on the students in the Literary College, longitudinal data were also gathered on other students, e.g., the students in the School of Nursing analyzed in this dissertation.

2. When the entrance characteristics of the student nurses are compared with those of the LSA females, the student nurses will be more collectivistic, familistic oriented, and noncosmopolitan than the female students of the liberal arts college.

3. Personality change will be greater to the degree that:

   a. there is flexibility, independence, and desire for self-development;
   b. professional socialization is low -- wider interest range;
   c. the individual's background is more cosmopolitan;
   d. the individual has a high degree of independence from the parents, even to the point of experiencing conflict;
   e. the individual is willing to establish relationships with persons who have differing viewpoints;
   f. the individual is able to accept more liberal value positions;
   g. the individual experiences greater freedom of impulse, enlightenment of the conscience, and integration of the self.

4. Student nurses' freshman-to-senior changes will be less than changes in female students of the liberal arts college.

The findings from the data tended to confirm the last three of the four hypotheses. In the first hypothesis, the Withdrawals rather than the Non-Withdrawals were most noncosmopolitan, familistic oriented, and collectivistic. There were only a few statistically significant differences among the student nurse groups. However, several significant differences were noted between the student nurses and the LSA females; the latter tended in the direction of liberalism.

LSA females more frequently than student nurses had freshman-to-senior personality changes. The LSA females were much more oriented toward aesthetic and intellectual interests than the nursing students. The LSA females also viewed themselves as having a higher degree of psychological freedom and self-confidence than the student nurses. The latter were more conservative, restrictive, and interested in the practical than the LSA females. The student nurses also showed a lack of tolerance for ambiguities and uncertainties. Overall, the students in both groups moved toward a more liberal position as seniors than as freshmen. As predicted, the students did not think there were changes in themselves or their beliefs.

Interpersonal Power and Balance: Attraction as Property and Component of Social Systems

by

John Richard O'Connor

An attempt is made in this study to introduce conceptions of social power and dependence into the A-B-X model of balance proposed by Newcomb. This is done by viewing interpersonal attraction both as a component of the A-B-X system and as a property of a power-dependence system. One interrelationship from among those included in these overlapping systems is selected for empirical investigation -- that between social interdependence and attraction.

Interdependence is defined as the extent to which social actors have consequences for each other. The dependence of one actor on another is defined as some quantity that varies (a) directly with the importance to the actor of resources controlled by the other, and (b) inversely with the availability of those resources in other social relationships. Attraction is viewed simply as general liking.

The general proposition concerning the relationship between these variables is derived from the dynamics of the functional system. It proposes that, in the social system as in the model of the functional system, system interdependence and equilibrium are related in a curvilinear fashion: the greater the degree of interdependence, the greater the equilibrium, up to a point; after that point, the greater the interdependence, the less the equilibrium. Four limiting conditions are specified at the social level. Equilibrium is defined as the stability of system properties. Attraction is regarded as one property of social systems, and, for minimal systems, the prediction is made that attraction will be maintained to a greater extent when interdependence between actors is neither high nor low, but rather at some intermediate level. Two related propositions are generated by the same theoretical orientation. One suggests that the particular non-extreme degree of interdependence at which equilibrium is hypothetically greatest is partially determined by normative prescriptions that legitimate certain dependence levels for different types of social systems. The other proposition predicts that symmetry of interdependence affects the height of the expected curve.

These variables were operationalized by means of perceived data obtained through survey methods. A snowball sample of college undergraduates provided information about two closest friendships. Each friendship was assigned to one of six degrees of dependence identified in this study. The dependence measure was found to be positively related to a face-valid dependency item, and also to degree of expected persistence of the friendship. The importance component of the dependence measure was obtained by means of factor analyses also pertinent to a typology of interpersonal rewards. The variable of attraction was measured by the inclusion of an individual in a group of close friends.

The first proposition was investigated by relating degree of dependence to maintenance of attraction over a two-year period. Curvilinearity was tested according to the logic of comparison for quadratic trend. Three degrees of dependence were specified -- the extremes and the intermediate degree at which persistence of attraction was greatest. Tentative support was found for the prediction in the entire sample and in certain subsamples. Little or no support was obtained for the remaining propositions. Attempts to examine the three propositions with consensual measures -- that is, with indexes that combine the reports of each member of a friendship pair -- were generally unsuccessful.

Suggestions are offered about possible consequences of variable degrees of interdependence for the dynamics of balance. Differential weightings of outcomes of imbalance are discussed. In general, it is proposed that intermediate degrees of dependency tend to maximize legitimate differences between actors, while also facilitating interpersonal influence effective in the long run.

Factors Pertaining to the Utilization or Non-Utilization Of Psychological Counseling Services in a Liberal Arts College

by

Marion Carol Stringham

The purpose of this study is to analyze a number of selected demographic and personality factors and to explore selected college environmental factors as they relate to the utilization of psychological counseling services by students attending a liberal arts college in a multiversity. The central concern is to discover what factors seem to differentiate students who terminate counseling early from those who terminate later.

The major investigation views the selected demographic and psychological characteristics (personality variables and cognitive style variables) of freshman stendents as independent variables. The use or non-use of personal counseling services and the duration of treatment are the two dependent variables. Included among the psychological characteristics are self-concept adjective indices, degree of concern indices, acceptance of parental opinion indices, and a social openness index. The data, consisting of written responses to questionnaires and to the Onmibus Personality Inventory, were collected as part of a longitudinal study of the University of Michigan student during the freshman orientation week. The utilization of counseling services was determined by questionnaire during the senior year.

The secondary investigation includes the same independent and dependent variables but adds an intervening variable -- the environmental "press" of the institution. These data were collected during the senior year and consisted of questionnaires and interviews. Analyses of all these data are run separately on males and females using chi square or the t-test as the statistical measures of significance.

In regards to the utilization of psychological counseling services, the results show that one demographic variable, socio-economic status, and only two self-concept indices, expressiveness and traditionalism are significant. Higher family income positively influences females in relation to utilizing personal counseling; both males and females who seek counseling describe themselves as more expressive than deliberate and more untraditional than traditional. Single items of significance regarding self-concept show those utilizing services as more unhappy (males), more self-critical (females), more impulsive (females) and as having given more thought to the question "Who am I?" (females). The variables pertaining to concerns parental acceptance, and social openness do not produce significant results. Five out of the seven scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory do differentiate between users and non-users of personal counseling.

In regards to the duration of treatment, the results show that higher socio-economic status positively influences females in relation to the longer

use of counseling. Females terminating later see themselves as less open than closed. In the area of concerns, males who terminate early score higher on a Vocational Commitment Index, and females score higher on a Citizen Orientation Index. None of the other variables produce significant results, and the Omnibus Personality Inventory does not discriminate between early and late terminators. An important finding is that early terminators more closely resemble non-users than they do late terminators.

The results also show that the "lack of fit" or the environmental presses of an institution are not related to the use of psychological counseling services.

Four generalized conclusions can be drawn from this study. There are some specific personality characteristics that do differentiate between users and non-users and early and late terminators regarding personal counseling services. Furthermore, there is some evidence of more durable personality traits and behaviors that differentiate these groups. Another conclusion is that male and female students vary considerably in their personality characteristics relative to the utilization of personal counseling. Finally, there are several patterns which are identifiable at the time of entrance into college which predict future use of counseling.

APPENDIX B

Senior Questionnaire - Part One

-1-

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNS YOUR REACTIONS TO MANY DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF COLLEGE - SUCH THINGS AS YOUR REACTIONS TO RESIDENTIAL EXPERIENCES, ACADEMIC EXPERIENCES, SOCIAL LIFE AND STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS, AND SOME OF YOUR PLANS AND EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE.

FIRST, SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FEELINGS REGARDING THE ACADEMIC ASPECT OF COLLEGE.

1. We'd like to know something about your reactions to the courses you've taken at Michigan - not only the classroom experience but the books you've read and the other work you've done in connection with the courses. Thinking of all the courses you have had at Michigan, how often would you say you have had each of the following reactions?

(Check one alternative for each of the phrases listed below.)

	Very Often	**Fairly Often**	**Once in a While**	**Rarely or Never**
I found the courses interesting	☐	☐	☐	☐
I found the courses not only interesting but very exciting and stimulating	☐	☐	☐	☐
I found the courses dull	☐	☐	☐	☐
I had long discussions with friends about ideas that the courses stimulated	☐	☐	☐	☐
I was stimulated to do reading or other work beyond the course requirements	☐	☐	☐	☐
I found the courses rough going academically	☐	☐	☐	☐
I found the courses challenging me to produce to the limits of my intellectual and creative capacities	☐	☐	☐	☐

2. Following is a list of five subject matter areas. Rank them from 1 to 5 so that 1 corresponds to the area in which you are most interested and 5 corresponds to the area in which you are least interested.

____ **Natural sciences (e.g., physics, chemistry, biology)**

____ **Humanities (e.g., fine arts, history, English)**

____ **Social sciences (e.g., economics, government, anthropology, sociology)**

____ **Mathematics**

____ **Foreign languages**

3. **As you look back over the courses you have taken at Michigan, do any stand out as unusually meaningful experiences for you? (CHECK ONE)**

☐ **Yes, several**

☐ **Yes, one or two**

☐ **No, not really**

(If you have had any such course (or courses), please indicate the name of the course, the faculty member who taught it, and in what way it was particularly meaningful for you. If there have been a number of such courses, just indicate the two or three that were most meaningful to you.)

COURSE	FACULTY MEMBER	IN WHAT WAY PARTICULARLY MEANINGFUL

4. Students vary in their attitudes toward given classroom procedures. On the next page is a set of scales describing different classroom procedures. If you feel that one or the other end of the scale is something you prefer very much in a class, you should place your X as follows:

Essay tests __X__:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ True-false or multiple-choice tests

or

Essay tests _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:__X__ True-false or multiple-choice tests

If you somewhat prefer one end, X as follows:

Essay tests _____:__X__:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ True-false or multiple-choice tests

or

Essay tests _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:__X__:_____ True-false or multiple-choice tests

If you slightly prefer one end, X as follows:

Essay tests _____:_____:__X__:_____:_____:_____:_____ True-false or multiple-choice tests

or

Essay tests _____:_____:_____:_____:__X__:_____:_____ True-false or multiple-choice tests

If both ends of a particular scale are not at all relevant to what you prefer in a class, or if both ends of the scale seem equally relevant, place your X in the middle:

(PLEASE USE THIS CATEGORY ONLY WHEN YOU FIND IT COMPLETELY IMPOSSIBLE TO X EITHER SIDE OF THE SCALE)

MY CLASSROOM PREFERENCES

Please be sure to check each scale with an X

Essay tests	_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	**True-false or multiple-choice tests**
Required attendance for class	_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	**Attendance not required**
Doing a project with several others in the class	_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	**Doing a project by oneself**
Professors leave it up to the students to keep up with the work	_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	**Professors regularly check up on the students to make sure that assignments are being carried out properly and on time**
A class that presents a clear point of view	_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	**A class that presents different approaches and leaves it up to the student to develop his own point of view**
A class that stresses the student's independence even though assignments may be vague and the student unsure about what's expected of him	_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	**A class that stresses clear requirements even though it may restrict the student's independence**
Lecture classes	_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	**Discussion classes**

5. Have you taken any Honors courses or sections here at Michigan? (CHECK ONE)

ANSWER QUESTIONS 5a-5e

- ☐ **Yes, have taken Honors courses in my field of concentration**
- ☐ **Yes, have taken Honors courses not in my field of concentration**
- ☐ **Yes, have taken Honors courses both in and out of my field of concentration**
- ☐ **No, have not taken any Honors courses at Michigan —(ANSWER QUESTIONS 5f AND 5g ON PAGE 6)**

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE TAKEN HONORS COURSES AT MICHIGAN

5a. What have been the positive things about being in the Honors Program -- what have you been particularly satisfied with? (IF YOU FEEL THERE WERE NO POSITIVE OR SATISFYING ASPECTS, PLEASE WRITE IN "NONE")

5b. What have been the negative aspects about being in the Honors Program -- what have you been dissatisfied with? (IF NO NEGATIVE ASPECTS, PLEASE WRITE IN "NONE")

5c. If you were beginning your career at Michigan, would you want to be in the Honors Program? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ **Definitely would want to be in the Honors Program**
- ☐ **Probably would want to be in the Honors Program**
- ☐ **Probably would not want to be in the Honors Program**
- ☐ **Definitely would not want to be in the Honors Program**
- ☐ **Not certain what I would want to do**

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

5. (continued)

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE TAKEN HONORS COURSES AT MICHIGAN (continued)

5d. Are you taking any Honors courses or sections at the present time? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes
☐ No

(IF NO) Why are you no longer in the Program?

____

____

____

5e. Are you doing an Honors thesis or special Honors project? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes
☐ No

(IF YES) What are you doing?

____

____

____

(SKIP TO Q. 6)

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE NOT TAKEN ANY HONORS COURSES

5f. Have you ever been eligible for the Honors Program? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

5g. If you have been eligible for membership, could you give some of the reasons you decided not to join the Program?

____

____

____

____

(GO ON TO Q. 6)

5. **What is your overall (cumulative) grade point average?**

I am fairly certain that my overall grade point average is ________

I think that my overall grade point average is ________

Check here if you have no idea what your overall grade point average is ☐

7. **In general, how do you feel the grades you have received at Michigan compare with the grades of other students with your ability? Compared to other students with my ability, my grades tended to be: (CHECK ONE)**

☐ **Much higher**
☐ **Somewhat higher**
☐ **About the same**
☐ **Somewhat lower**
☐ **Much lower**

8. **Listed below are a number of awards and honors. Which of these have you received or are fairly sure you will receive by the time you graduate? (PLEASE PUT A SINGLE CHECK IN FRONT OF THOSE YOU HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED AND A DOUBLE CHECK IN FRONT OF THOSE YOU EXPECT TO RECEIVE)**

____ **Phi Beta Kappa**
____ **Other honor society based on academic achievement**
____ **Graduation with honors (SPECIFY) (Cum) (Magna) (Summa) ____________**
____ **Scholarship awarded on basis of academic ability**
____ **Woodrow Wilson**
____ **Prize or award for scholarship or research work**
____ **Prize or award for literary, musical, or artistic work**
____ **Took one or more graduate level courses as an undergraduate**
____ **Honorary group based on extra-curricular activities and academic achievement (PLEASE SPECIFY WHICH ONES) ____________________**
____
____ **Other award or honor (PLEASE SPECIFY) ____________________**
____ **No special honors received or expected**

9. **What is your major--your field of concentration? (IF YOU HAVE NOT YET CHOSEN YOUR MAJOR, WRITE IN "None" AND SKIP TO Q. 17 ON PAGE 10)**

____

____

10. Which of the following statements comes closest to describing how you decided on this major? (CHECK ONE)

☐ I thought about it a great deal, weighing the pros and cons before arriving at a decision

☐ I didn't really think a great deal about it but I felt pretty sure it was something I wanted to do

☐ I didn't think much about it -- I pretty much just drifted into it

11. Which of the following statements best describes your position regarding academic major when you entered Michigan? (CHECK ONE)

☐ I had the same choice I do now

☐ I didn't have a choice then

☐ I had a different choice than I do now

If your current choice represents a different position than you had at entrance, could you give some of the reasons for your present choice or why you decided to change?

____

____

____

12. To what extent was each of the following important in your choice of an academic major? (PLEASE CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW)

	Of Crucial Importance	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Too Important	Not at All Important
Father	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Brother, sister, other relative	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
High school teacher or counselor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My official faculty advisor at Michigan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other Michigan faculty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Administrative staff at Michigan (residence counselor, staff in Office of Student Affairs, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friend(s) at Michigan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A particular course I took at Michigan (PLEASE SPECIFY DEPARTMENT, NUMBER, AND NAME OF TEACHER) ________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

12. (continued)

	Of Crucial Importance	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Too Important	Not at All Important
This major was necessary for the occupation I expect to enter	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This major left me time for my other college activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I did very well in the courses in this field	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The courses in this field are easier than those in others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The courses in this field are harder than those in others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The courses in this field were fascinating to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I wasn't really sure of this major, but I had to choose something	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I found that this field really fit my particular skills and talents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

-If any friend at Michigan was important, please give his or her name. (IF MORE THAN ONE MICHIGAN FRIEND WAS IMPORTANT, GIVE THE NAME OF THE ONE WHO WAS MOST IMPORTANT.)

____

If any faculty or administrative member at Michigan was important, please give his or her name and position, e.g., faculty advisor, residence counselor, teacher in a course I took. (IF MORE THAN ONE WAS IMPORTANT, GIVE THE NAME OF THE ONE WHO WAS MOST IMPORTANT)

____

13. If you had to do it over, would you choose the same major? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes, I'm sure I would choose the same major
☐ Yes, I probably would choose the same major
(SKIP TO Q. 14)

☐ No, I probably would choose a different major
☐ No, I'm sure I would choose a different major
(ANSWER QUESTIONS 13a and 13b)

(IF NO) 13a. What major would you choose? ________________________

____

13b. Why would you choose that instead of your present one?

____

____

(GO TO Q. 14)

14. **Would you say there is anything approaching a "group spirit" or a feeling of common identity among the students in your major department? (Check one)**

- ☐ **No, practically none**
- ☐ **Yes, but it is rather weak**
- ☐ **Yes, to a moderate degree**
- ☐ **Yes, it is quite strong**

15. **What is your general impression of the intellectual ability of most of the students in your major department? (Check one)**

- ☐ **Most of them are below the average at Michigan**
- ☐ **Most of them are near the average at Michigan**
- ☐ **Most of them are above the average at Michigan**
- ☐ **The students in my field are among the brightest on this campus**

16. **Would you say that the major department you are in has prestige among this student body as a whole? (Check one)**

- ☐ **It does not have the prestige that most other majors have**
- ☐ **Its prestige is neither particularly high nor particularly low**
- ☐ **Its prestige is fairly high**
- ☐ **It has a great deal of prestige on this campus**

Now some questions about living arrangements and your residence experiences:

17. **Where are you currently living? (Check one)**

- ☐ **Dormitory (PLEASE GIVE NAME OF DORM AND HOUSE)** ____________________
- ☐ **Apartment**
- ☐ **Rooming house**
- ☐ **A room in a private home**
- ☐ **In my parents' home**
- ☐ **Fraternity or sorority house**
- ☐ **A cooperative house (PLEASE GIVE NAME)** ____________________

18. **People have different feelings about particular residential arrangements on campus. How do you feel about the life you have had in the place you've lived this year? We don't mean just the physical arrangements, but the kind of life one has in your particular residential situation. (Check one)**

- ☐ **I've been very satisfied**
- ☐ **I've been fairly satisfied**
- ☐ **I've been fairly dissatisfied**
- ☐ **I've been very dissatisfied**

18a. **Why have you felt this way?** ____________________

____

19. Do you feel you might have been more satisfied in some other residential arrangement? (CHECK ONE)

☐ **Yes**

☐ **No**

(IF YES) What other residential arrangement might have been more satisfying?

____

In what way would it have been more satisfying?

____

____

____

20. How many years did you live in a dormitory at Michigan? (CHECK ONE)

☐ **None**

☐ **Less than one year**

☐ **One year**

☐ **Between one and 2 years**

☐ **2 years**

☐ **Between 2 and 3 years**

☐ **3 years**

☐ **More than 3 years**

(FOR THOSE PERSONS CURRENTLY LIVING IN A DORMITORY)

20a. Thinking now about the specific House where you've lived this year, how satisfied would you say you've been with this House in comparison with others you know something about? (CHECK ONE)

☐ **I've liked this House much better than any other I know**

☐ **I've liked this House somewhat better than any other I know**

☐ **I don't have any feelings about this one way or the other**

☐ **I would have liked another House somewhat better**

☐ **I would have liked another House a great deal better**

21. Do you have one or more roommates, or do you live alone? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

☐ **Live alone**

☐ **One student roommate**

☐ **Two or more student roommates**

☐ **Live with spouse or parents**

☐ **Non-student roommates**

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

21. (continued)

If you have one or more roommates who are students at the University of Michigan, please indicate their names below.

NAMES OF STUDENT ROOMMATES
(PLEASE PRINT FIRST AND LAST NAMES)

____________________ ____________________

____________________ ____________________

____________________ ____________________

22. If either were equally possible, would you prefer to live alone or to have a roommate(s)? (CHECK ONE)

☐ I much prefer to have a roommate(s)
☐ I somewhat prefer to have a roommate(s)
☐ I somewhat prefer to live alone
☐ I much prefer to live alone

23. What are your feelings about college fraternities and sororities? (CHECK ONE)

☐ I am very much in favor of them
☐ I am generally in favor of them but I have some reservations
☐ I don't have any feeling about them one way or the other
☐ I am fairly much against them
☐ I am very much against them

Why do you feel this way? ____________________

____

____

____

24. In relation to fraternities or sororities, check which of the following statements applies to you.

☐ Never went through rush
☐ Rushed, but dropped out before final bids
☐ Rushed and didn't receive a bid
☐ Rushed and received a bid but did not pledge
☐ Pledged but later depledged
☐ Initiated but later dropped out
☐ Am currently a member (PLEASE SPECIFY THE HOUSE) ____________________

If you have ever depledged or dropped out of a fraternity or sorority, please indicate why. ____________________

____

____

Now, some general questions about your reactions to Michigan.

25. In the life you have led at the University, what experiences have been most important and meaningful to you? Check how important each of the following experiences has been to you in your life at Michigan. (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH ITEM LISTED.)

	Of Crucial Importance	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Too Important	Not at all Important
Knowing students from very different backgrounds	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Classroom work - lectures, reading, classroom discussions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Individual study, research, writing, art work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Extra-curricular life--the campus groups and activities I've become involved in	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parties and social life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dating	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Getting to know faculty, seeing and talking with them outside of class	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Discussing ideas, intellectual exchange with friends, other students	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The friendships I've formed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Experiences with music, drama, art	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
"School spirit" activities--e.g., Michigras, Homecoming	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Getting involved in issues of national or world affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being on my own--the sheer experience of being independent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Intramural or varsity sports (as either a spectator or participant)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Student government; campus elections for student government; involvement in campus issues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Self-discovery, self-insight--discovery and development of new interests and talents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

26. Colleges and universities differ from one another in many ways. Below is a list of statements that may be generally true or characteristic of some schools but not of others. For each statement, please indicate how true or not true you feel this statement is when applied to the University of Michigan. Check one alternative for each statement.

	Definitely True at Michigan	Generally True at Michigan	Generally Not True at Mich.	Definitely Not True at Mich.
1. Each student is treated as a unique person	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Faculty members are not highly stimulating	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Faculty members go out of their way to help you	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. The existing rules and regulations regarding student behavior on this campus are sensible and necessary	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Faculty members are narrow specialists	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Intellectual nonconformity gets you into trouble	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Students almost never see the professors except in class	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Most students get really excited about ideas	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Faculty members discourage student argument and disagreement with them	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. There is ample time for inner growth	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Faculty members are very competent in their special fields	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. You are encouraged to think for yourself	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. In disputes between the students and the administration, the faculty more often supports the administration's position	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. Faculty members tend to be aloof and somewhat formal with the students	☐	☐	☐	☐

26. (Cont)	**Definitely True at Michigan**	**Generally True at Michigan**	**Generally Not True at Mich.**	**Definitely Not True at Mich.**
15. There are many restrictive rules governing the personal behavior of students	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. The courses and teachers allow you to slip by with less than your best efforts	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. The students have a great deal of say in the way the University is run	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. The academic bureaucracy ignores the individual	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. Teachers dislike spending time with students	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. The student's personal development is neglected	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. Real intellectual interests are stifled	☐	☐	☐	☐
22. Students are treated like irresponsible children	☐	☐	☐	☐
23. Faculty members are very poor teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. Students have a lot of contact with faculty	☐	☐	☐	☐
25. Standards set by the professors are not particularly hard to achieve	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. Faculty members have broad general interests and ideas beyond their own fields	☐	☐	☐	☐
27. Students are treated like IBM cards	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. Faculty members are politically conservative	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. Students are encouraged to take intellectual risks	☐	☐	☐	☐
30. The administration treats the student as an adult	☐	☐	☐	☐
31. Individual students have a voice in formulating the regulations which affect them	☐	☐	☐	☐

26. (Cont)	Definitely True at Michigan	Generally True at Michigan	Generally Not True at Mich.	Definitely Not True at Mich.
32. Teachers are genuinely interested in students	☐	☐	☐	☐
33. In their religious beliefs, faculty members are agnostic or atheistic	☐	☐	☐	☐
34. The administration of the University is not genuinely interested in the welfare of students	☐	☐	☐	☐
35. Faculty members seem less interested in teaching than in their own writing and research	☐	☐	☐	☐
36. You can develop a lot as a human being	☐	☐	☐	☐
37. Professors frequently go out of the way to establish friendly relations with the students	☐	☐	☐	☐
38. Students are treated like responsible people	☐	☐	☐	☐

27. Do you feel that the University exercises too much or too little authority over students' life outside the classroom? (CHECK ONE)

☐ **Exercises too much authority over students**

☐ **Exercises too little authority over students**

☐ **Exercises about right amount of authority**

28. What, if any, are the areas where you feel the University exercises too much authority over students' life--where you feel the University may be unduly restrictive? (IF YOU FEEL THERE ARE NO AREAS WHERE TOO MUCH AUTHORITY IS EXERTED, PLEASE WRITE IN "NONE")

____

____

____

____

29. What, if any, are the areas where you feel the University exercises too little authority over students' life--where you feel the University might properly exercise a little more authority than it does? (IF YOU FEEL THERE ARE NO AREAS WHERE THE UNIVERSITY EXERTS TOO LITTLE AUTHORITY, WRITE "NONE")

____

____

____

30. Very often a particular college has a general "atmosphere," and one can think of a number of adjectives or phrases that one could use in describing or characterizing the University.

Below are a number of pairs of phrases or adjectives labelled "A" and "B" which might be used to describe the Michigan atmosphere. For each pair, check the alternative that indicates how much you feel either phrase characterizes the Michigan atmosphere.

PLEASE CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH PAIR.

	A is very characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere	A is fairly characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere	Neither A nor B is characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere	B is fairly characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere	B is very characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere
1. A. Politically conservative B. Politically liberal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. A. Unconventional B. Conventional	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. A. Interested in international and national affairs B. Not interested in international and national affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. A. Intellectual B. Not intellectual	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. A. Paternalistic B. Permissive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. A. Accepting of traditional religious beliefs B. Rejecting of traditional religious beliefs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. A. Absorbed in social life and dating B. Not absorbed in social life and dating	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

30. (continued)

	A is very characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere	A is fairly characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere	Neither A nor B is characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere	B is fairly characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere	B is very characteristic of the Michigan atmosphere
8. A. Absorbed in studies and academic work **B. Not absorbed in studies and academic work**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. A. Liberal conception of sexual standards and morality **B. Conservative and traditional conception of sexual standards and morality**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. A. Positive toward fraternities and sororities **B. Negative toward fraternities and sororities**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. A. Committed **B. Cool**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. A. Encourage early vocational specialization **B. Encourage students to "try out" and think through a variety of fields**	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

13. Anything else you feel is particularly characteristic of Michigan? ____________

____

____

31. How often during your years at Michigan have you found yourself either seriously disagreeing or feeling strongly that your values or beliefs were different from those of many of the faculty here? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ **Frequently**
- ☐ **Occasionally** — **(ANSWER Q. 31a)**
- ☐ **Once or twice**
- ☐ **Never (SKIP TO Q. 32)**

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

31. **(continued)**

31a. **What are some of the ways in which you feel your values and beliefs have differed from those of many faculty here? (PLEASE BE SPECIFIC--I.E., INDICATE BOTH YOUR BELIEF AND POSITION AND THE POSITION OF THE FACULTY)**

____

____

____

____

____

32. **How often during your years at Michigan have you found yourself either seriously disagreeing or feeling strongly that your values or beliefs were different from those of many of the students here? (CHECK ONE)**

☐ **Frequently**
☐ **Occasionally** **(ANSWER Q. 32a)**
☐ **Once or twice**
☐ **Never** **(SKIP TO Q. 33)**

32a. **What are some of the ways in which you feel your values and beliefs have differed from those of many students here? (PLEASE BE SPECIFIC--I.E., INDICATE BOTH YOUR BELIEF AND POSITION AND THE POSITION OF THE STUDENTS)**

____

____

____

____

____

33. **Some students want more from a teacher than competence or even brilliance in teaching. They want a broader and more personal relationship with someone they can see and talk to frequently outside of class, someone they can get to know well enough to talk with about matters not related to school or course work. Is this something you want in a relationship with a teacher? (CHECK ONE)**

☐ **I want this very much**
☐ **It would be nice, but it's not crucial to me**
☐ **I don't really care about it one way or the other**
☐ **I don't think I'd like it**
☐ **I'm sure I don't want it--I prefer a certain amount of distance between faculty and student**

34. In addition to your attitudes about Michigan faculty, we would like some information about your interaction with faculty members.

The four columns below each refer to a category of faculty. For each category of faculty, first answer Question a (whether you ever see any of these faculty outside of class); when the answer is "Yes," go on to answer Questions b through f.

		Professor or instructor in *my* field	Professor or instructor in some other field	Teaching fellow or laboratory assistant in *my* field	Teaching fellow or laboratory assistant in some other field
a. Do you ever see anyone in this category of faculty outside of class? (Check one for each category of faculty)	Yes	☐	☐	☐	☐
	No	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. (IF YES) How often? (Check one for each category)	Once a day	☐	☐	☐	☐
	At least once a week	☐	☐	☐	☐
	At least once a month	☐	☐	☐	☐
	At least once a term	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. (IF YES) With how many different faculty members? (Check one for each category)	More than 4	☐	☐	☐	☐
	4	☐	☐	☐	☐
	3	☐	☐	☐	☐
	2	☐	☐	☐	☐
	1	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. (IF YES) For what purpose? (Check as many as apply to each category)	Discuss a personal problem	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Ask a question about course	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Discuss an intellectual topic of mutual interest	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Discuss academic status of my career	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Just chat	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Discuss work I do for him	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Other (specify)________________	☐	☐	☐	☐

34. (Cont)

		Professor or instructor in my field	Professor or instructor in some other field	Teaching fellow or laboratory assistant in my field	Teaching fellow or laboratory assistant in some other field
e. (IF YES) In what setting? (Check as many as apply to each category)	His office	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Some other University setting	☐	☐	☐	☐
	His home	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Some other social setting	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. (IF YES) How many do you know well enough so that you can visit with them at their homes on your own initiative?	More than 4	☐	☐	☐	☐
	4	☐	☐	☐	☐
	3	☐	☐	☐	☐
	2	☐	☐	☐	☐
	1	☐	☐	☐	☐
	None	☐	☐	☐	☐

35. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the opportunity you have had to get together and talk with faculty outside of class? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Very satisfied
☐ Fairly satisfied
☐ Fairly dissatisfied
☐ Very dissatisfied

36. What proportion of your courses at Michigan were taught mainly by teaching fellows? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ **Almost all**
- ☐ **Over half**
- ☐ **About half**
- ☐ **Less than half**
- ☐ **Very few**
- ☐ **None**

37. How do you feel the teaching fellows you had compared with the regular faculty on each of the areas listed below?

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH AREA.

	Teaching fellows much better than regular faculty	**Teaching fellows somewhat better**	**Both about the same**	**Regular faculty somewhat better**	**Regular faculty much better than teaching fellows**
Interest in the students and their problems	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Competence in their special field	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Competence as teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ability to stimulate and excite the students	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
General intellectual, cultural interests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interest in preparing students for professional specialization	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

38. Now, we would like you to compare the faculty in your major field with the other faculty at Michigan. Please make this comparison for each of the areas listed below.

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH AREA.

	My major field faculty much better than other Michigan faculty	My major field faculty somewhat better	Both about the same	Other Michigan faculty somewhat better	Other Michigan faculty much better than my major field faculty
Interest in the students and their problems	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Competence in their special field	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Competence as teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ability to stimulate and excite the students	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
General intellectual, cultural interests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interest in preparing students for professional specialization	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

We'd like to know your ideas and reactions about some of the University counseling services.

39. First, with respect to academic advisors, how satisfied have you been with the academic advisory situation here at Michigan? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Very satisfied
☐ Fairly satisfied
☐ Fairly dissatisfied
☐ Very dissatisfied

If you've been at all dissatisfied, what are the main reasons for your dissatisfaction?

____

____

____

____

Turning to Vocational Counseling -

40. Have you experienced any vocational problems during your years at Michigan - e.g., confusion about what you want to do, uncertainty about your aptitude for particular occupations, concern over differences with your parents about your occupational interest - about which you feel you should or would have liked to talk to someone? (Check one)

☐ **Yes**

☐ **No**

(IF YES) What was the nature of the problem? ______________________________

____

____

41. Have you ever discussed vocational plans or problems with any of the following? (Check yes or no for each person listed)

	Yes	**No**
Faculty advisor	☐	☐
Another faculty member	☐	☐
Vocational counseling service	☐	☐
A psychological counselor at the Student Health Service	☐	☐
Other (please specify) ____________________	☐	☐

____

42. All in all, how do you feel about the assistance (or lack of assistance) in thinking through your vocational plans which you have received at Michigan - from teachers, counselors, deans, etc? (Check one)

☐ **Very dissatisfied**

☐ **Somewhat dissatisfied**

☐ **Fairly satisfied**

☐ **Very satisfied**

☐ **Have not needed any assistance**

How about personal counseling -

43. Have you ever had occasion to use psychological counseling services provided on this campus? (Check one)

☐ Yes (ANSWER QUESTIONS 43a THROUGH 43d)

☐ No (SKIP TO QUESTION 44)

(IF YES) 43a. Which services did you use? ______________________

____

____

____

____

43b. About how much have you used these services during your college career here? (Check one)

☐ Just one or two visits

☐ More than two but less than ten visits

☐ Over ten visits

43c. When did you use these services? (Check all that apply)

☐ First year in college

☐ Second year

☐ Third year

☐ Fourth year

43d. How do you feel about the assistance (or lack of assistance) you received? (Check one)

☐ Very satisfied

☐ Fairly satisfied

☐ Fairly dissatisfied

☐ Very dissatisfied

GO ON TO QUESTION 44

Some questions now on your overall reactions to Michigan.

44. For many people college is a very big and new experience - an eye-opener, a move into a new world, a discovery of new ways of thinking, feeling, looking at the world. For others, college is not so big or new an experience - it's pretty much like the life they have known all along. How "big" and "new" an experience has college been for you? (Check one alternative. If none of the alternatives really expresses what your college experience has been, check "other" and write in your comments.)

☐ Very big and new - everything about college was new to me

☐ Fairly big and new - opened many new experiences for me

☐ Not so big or new - I have found some new experiences here, but in many ways college has been a continuation of my life before college

☐ Other (please specify) ____________________

45. As you think over your life here at Michigan, how satisfied are you that you came to the University of Michigan rather than to some other school? (Check one)

☐ Very satisfied with my choice of Michigan

☐ Fairly satisfied

☐ Fairly dissatisfied

☐ Very dissatisfied

46. Have you had the experience in college of discovering you could do something you weren't sure you could do, something that came somewhat as a surprise to you and pleased you a great deal? (Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ No, not really

(IF YES) Could you describe what this was? ____________________

47. **People have different ideas about what they hope to achieve in college. We would like to know what you feel are the important things to get out of college. Please indicate how important each of the following ideas is to you, according to this scheme:**

Write in ++ if the idea is of great importance

Write in + if the idea is of moderate importance

Write in 0 if the idea is of little or no importance

_____ Getting prepared for marriage and family life

_____ Thinking through what kind of occupation and career I want and developing some of the necessary skills

_____ Having fun; enjoying the last period before assuming adult responsibilities

_____ Exploring new ideas - the excitement of learning

_____ Establishing meaningful friendships

_____ Finding myself, discovering what kind of person I really want to be

_____ Opportunities to think through what I really believe, what values are important to me

_____ Developing a deep, perhaps professional grasp of a specific field of study

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY ---47a. **Now, go back and look at those that you rated ++. Put a "1" in front of the one that is most important to you, and a "2" in front of the one that is second most important.**

48. **Now we are interested not in what you want in a college experience but what you feel you have achieved and been given in your college years. Here is the same list of items again. This time we would like you to indicate how much you feel your years in college have given you or helped you achieve each of the following:**

In the space preceding each item write:

++ If you feel your years in college have given you a great deal in this area

+ If you feel your years in college have given you something in this area

0 If you feel your years in college have given you little or nothing in this area

- If you feel your years in college have actually hindered you in developing in this area

_____ Getting prepared for marriage and family life

_____ Thinking through what kind of occupation and career I want and developing some of the necessary skills

_____ Having fun; enjoying the last period before assuming adult responsibilities

_____ Exploring new ideas - the excitement of learning

_____ Establishing meaningful friendships

_____ Finding myself, discovering what kind of person I really want to be

_____ Opportunities to think through what I really believe, what values are important to me

_____ Developing a deep, perhaps professional grasp of a specific field of study

49. On every college or university campus students hold a variety of attitudes about their own purposes and goals while at college. Such an attitude might be thought of as a personal philosophy of higher education. The following paragraphs are descriptive statements of four such "personal philosophies" which there is reason to believe are quite prevalent on American college campuses. As you read the four statements, attempt to determine how close each comes to your own philosophy of higher education.

PHILOSOPHY A: This philosophy emphasizes education essentially as preparation for an occupational future. Social or purely intellectual phases of campus life are relatively less important, although certainly not ignored. Concern with extracurricular activities and college traditions is relatively small. Persons holding this philosophy are usually quite committed to particular fields of study and are in college primarily to obtain training for careers in their chosen fields.

PHILOSOPHY B: This philosophy, while it does not ignore career preparation, assigns greatest importance to scholarly pursuit of knowledge and understanding wherever the pursuit may lead. This philosophy entails serious involvement in course work or independent study beyond the minimum required. Social life and organized extracurricular activities are relatively unimportant. Thus, while other aspects of college life are not to be forsaken, this philosophy attaches greatest importance to interest in ideas, pursuit of knowledge, and cultivation of the intellect.

PHILOSOPHY C: This philosophy holds that besides occupational training and/or scholarly endeavor an important part of college life exists outside the classroom, laboratory, and library. Extracurricular activities, living-group functions, athletics, social life, rewarding friendships, and loyalty to college traditions are important elements in one's college experience and necessary to the cultivation of the well-rounded person. Thus, while not excluding academic activities, this philosophy emphasizes the importance of the extracurricular side of college life.

PHILOSOPHY D: This is a philosophy held by the student who either consciously rejects commonly held value orientations in favor of his own, or who has not really decided what is to be valued and is in a sense searching for meaning in life. There is often deep involvement with ideas and art forms both in the classroom and in sources (often highly original and individualistic) in the wider society. There is little interest in business or professional careers; in fact, there may be a definite rejection of this kind of aspiration. Many facets of the college--organized extracurricular activities, athletics, traditions, the college administration--are ignored or viewed with disdain. In short, this philosophy may emphasize individualistic interests and styles, concern for personal identity, and often contempt for many aspects of organized society.

Please rank these four statements according to the accuracy with which each portrays your own point of view. Assign a "1" to the most accurate (i.e., the one that is the best description of your point of view), a "2" to the second most accurate, etc. Be sure to assign a different rank to each "philosophy."

____ Philosophy A
____ Philosophy B
____ Philosophy C
____ Philosophy D

50. Have you had the experience at the University of someone - a professor, fellow student, anyone else - directly challenging a very important belief of yours? (Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ No

(IF YES) Choose a particularly critical instance of this and:

50a. Give the name of the person who challenged your belief. Also indicate his position, such as teacher, friend, etc.

Name	Position

50b. What was it about? Indicate what your belief was and the position this person took.

50c. What was the outcome - what happened to your belief from this experience?

51. College sometimes brings a change in ideas, beliefs, or values--such things as religious beliefs, political beliefs, ways of viewing people. Do you think you have changed in things like this? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Have changed a great deal

☐ Have changed somewhat

☐ Have changed a little

☐ Haven't changed at all

52. What about more personal kinds of changes--not just particular beliefs and values, but changes in the kind of person you are, the way you see or feel about yourself--have you changed in things like this? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Have changed a great deal

☐ Have changed somewhat

☐ Have changed a little

☐ Haven't changed at all

53. In addition to some of these general kinds of changes, we're interested in some of the more specific influences the college experience may have had for you. As far as you can judge, to what extent has the college influenced you in __each__ of the following? (__Circle__ the appropriate number.)

a. __Clarity of occupational plans__:

5	4	3	2	1
much more clear	somewhat clearer	no change	somewhat less clear	much less clear than when I entered college

b. __Study habits__:

5	4	3	2	1
much better	somewhat better	no change	somewhat worse	much worse than when I entered college

c. __Interest in art and music__:

5	4	3	2	1
marked increase	some increase	no change	somewhat less	much less than when I entered college

d. __Ambition__:

5	4	3	2	1
marked increase	some increase	no change	somewhat less	much less than when I entered college

e. __Excitement and enthusiasm about learning__:

5	4	3	2	1
much more	somewhat more	no change	somewhat less	much less than when I entered college

f. __Interest in politics and world affairs__:

5	4	3	2	1
marked increase	some increase	no change	somewhat less	much less than when I entered college

g. __Concern about social issues and problems__:

5	4	3	2	1
much greater	somewhat greater	no change	somewhat less	much less than when I entered college

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

h. Self-confidence:

5	4	3	2	1
marked increase	some increase	no change	somewhat less	much less than when I entered college

i. Clarity about the general direction I want to take in life, life goals:

5	4	3	2	1
much clearer	somewhat clearer	no change	somewhat less	much less clear than when I entered college

j. Attitude toward traditional religious beliefs:

5	4	3	2	1
much greater acceptance	somewhat greater acceptance	no change	somewhat less acceptance	much less acceptance of traditional religious beliefs

k. Interest in belonging to a formal religious institution:

5	4	3	2	1
much greater interest	somewhat greater interest	no change	somewhat less interest	much less interest in formal religious membership

l. Attitude toward sexual standards and values:

5	4	3	2	1
much more traditional and conservative	somewhat more traditional and conservative	no change	somewhat more liberal and nontraditional	much more liberal and nontraditional

m. Attitude toward fraternities and sororities:

5	4	3	2	1
much more positive	somewhat more positive	no change	somewhat more negative	much more negative

n. Political attitudes:

5	4	3	2	1
much more conservative	somewhat more conservative	no change	somewhat more liberal	much more liberal

o. Attitude toward marriage:

5	4	3	2	1
much more positive	somewhat more positive	no change	somewhat more negative	much more negative

54. In the list below are some experiences or situations which college students often describe as crises or problems during the college years. You may have encountered some of these situations or problems during your life at Michigan. For each situation, please consider how much of a crisis or problem it has been for you. (Check one alternative for each statement.)

	A crisis that bothered me a great deal	A problem that bothered me	I had this experience, but it didn't bother me much	I haven't had this experience
a. A difficulty learning regular study habits	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. A feeling of being "lost" at Michigan because it seemed so big and impersonal	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. A questioning of my academic abilities - not doing as well as I had expected	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. A fear of academic failure - where I went (or was on the verge of going) on academic probation	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. A difficulty in "finding" myself in the sense of personal meaning and identity - where I was headed, what I was seeking in life	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. A difficulty in arriving at a vocational decision - deciding what occupation I wanted to go into	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. A psychological problem, an emotional upset	☐	☐	☐	☐
h. A disappointment in a relationship with the opposite sex - a hurt, rejection, loss	☐	☐	☐	☐
i. A problem in my relationship with my parents	☐	☐	☐	☐
j. Some family crisis like death, divorce in the family	☐	☐	☐	☐
k. A financial problem - difficulty in managing financially	☐	☐	☐	☐

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

54. (Cont)

	A crisis that bothered me a great deal	A problem that bothered me	I had this experience, but it didn't bother me much	I haven't had this experience
l. Some trouble with the police, disciplinary agents of the University	☐	☐	☐	☐
m. A disappointment in having too little real contact with the faculty	☐	☐	☐	☐
n. An inability to find individuals or groups who were really congenial and with whom I felt happy	☐	☐	☐	☐
o. A disillusionment about friendship or a friend	☐	☐	☐	☐
p. A disappointment in rushing, not receiving a bid to the house I wanted to pledge	☐	☐	☐	☐
q. A feeling of isolation or loneliness	☐	☐	☐	☐
r. The shock of meeting people who seemed to know so much more than I, who were more cosmopolitan or had been around so much more than I	☐	☐	☐	☐
s. A questioning of my religious faith or beliefs	☐	☐	☐	☐
t. A questioning of my personal standards from meeting people with very different standards - of ways to act, sexual standards, moral behavior	☐	☐	☐	☐

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

54a. Now, please go back and look at those that you checked in one of the first two columns "A crisis that bothered me a great deal" or "A problem that bothered me." Please circle the letter in front of those statements that still bother you at the present time - that are still problems for you.

55. When people are worried or troubled or have critical personal decisions to make, they sometimes talk it over with somebody - with family, friends, or other people. During your college years, when you have been faced with personal concerns and decisions - ones which have not been directly connected with your academic performance - have you talked them over with the following people? (Check one alternative for each person listed)

	Yes, several times	Yes, once or twice	No, but I would if needed	No, would never take a personal problem here
Mother	☐	☐	☐	☐
Father	☐	☐	☐	☐
Boyfriend or girlfriend	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friend(s) at Michigan	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friend(s) not at Michigan	☐	☐	☐	☐
My faculty adviser	☐	☐	☐	☐
Another Michigan faculty member	☐	☐	☐	☐
My residence director, adviser, or counselor	☐	☐	☐	☐
Staff in the Office of Student Affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐
University Health Service for personal counseling	☐	☐	☐	☐
University Vocational Counseling	☐	☐	☐	☐
Professional, not at the University of Michigan - e.g., family physician, psychiatrist, social worker	☐	☐	☐	☐
Minister, priest, or rabbi	☐	☐	☐	☐

TURNING NOW TO SOME OF YOUR PLANS AND EXPECTATIONS ABOUT LIFE AFTER COLLEGE -

56. First, as you think of your future life, what is your picture of the way you'd like life to work out for you?

____

____

____

____

57. We're interested in the importance you feel certain areas of life will have for you. People differ in the importance they attach to different areas of life. For some people, for example, an occupation becomes the central aspect of life, a major focus for their energies and a major source of gratifications in life. For other people, major focus may be given to being a parent, participation in community or national affairs, involvement in the world of art or music, etc.

When you think of your life after college, how important do you expect each of the following areas will be to you?

Write in 3 for crucially important - I want my life to center around this area of life

Write in 2 for very important - I want to have a major focus in this area of life

Write in 1 for important - but I want my major investments in other areas of life

Write in 0 for little or no importance

_____ Career or occupation

_____ Religious beliefs or activities

_____ Marriage, relationship with my husband (wife)

_____ Being a parent, relationship with children

_____ Relationship with other family members - parents, other relatives

_____ The world of ideas, the intellectual life

_____ Friendships

_____ Participation as a citizen in the affairs of my community

_____ The world of art and music, the aesthetic life

_____ Involvement in activities directed toward national or international betterment

58. **What class are you in?**

☐ **Freshman)**
)
☐ **Sophomore)**
) ANSWER QUESTION 58a
☐ **Junior)**
)
☐ **Senior)**

☐ **Graduate or professional school (ANSWER QUESTION 58b)**

58a. (UNDERGRADUATES) In what trimester and year do you expect to graduate?

________________	________
trimester	year

58b. (GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL) Are you studying for an advanced degree?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(IF YES) What degree? ____________________

In what field? ____________________

IF YOU ARE A SENIOR EXPECTING TO GRADUATE THIS TERM OR NEXT SUMMER OR FALL, GO TO QUESTION 59. ALL OTHERS SKIP TO QUESTION 69 ON PAGE 42.

59. **Where do you expect to live next year? (Check one)**

☐ **At home with my parents**

☐ **In or near my home town, but not with my parents**

☐ **Somewhere else (please specify)** ____________________

____

60. What do you think you will be doing next year, after you graduate? (Check the item which describes what you will be doing next year. If you expect to be doing two things simultaneously, check both. If you are considering more than one alternative plan, check all that you are considering and double check the one that you will most probably do.)

_____ Working full time at a type of job I expect to be my long-run career field. (Please specify what kind of work you will be doing.)

____

_____ Military service

_____ Working full time at a job which will probably not be my long-run career field. (Please specify what kind of work you will be doing.)

____

_____ Housewife

_____ Graduate study in an arts and science field (physical science, biological science, social science, humanities, etc)

_____ Graduate study in a professional field (law, medicine, engineering, education, agriculture, social work, etc)

_____ Other (please specify) _______________________

____

61. How definite are these plans for next year? (Check one)

☐ Quite definite

☐ Fairly definite, but subject to change

☐ Quite indefinite

IF YOU EXPECT TO GO TO A GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL NEXT YEAR, ANSWER QUESTIONS 62 THROUGH 67.

IF YOU DO NOT EXPECT TO GO TO A GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL NEXT YEAR (OR IF YOU ARE UNCERTAIN ABOUT YOUR PLANS FOR NEXT YEAR) SKIP TO QUESTION 68 ON PAGE 41.

FOR SENIORS EXPECTING TO GO TO GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL NEXT YEAR.

62. What will be your field of study? _______________________

FOR SENIORS EXPECTING TO GO TO GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL NEXT YEAR (Cont)

63. How certain are you that this will be your field of study?

☐ Quite certain

☐ Fairly certain, but possibly subject to change

☐ Fairly uncertain

64. Which degree or degrees do you plan to get? (Check all that apply)

☐ M.A. or M.S.

☐ Ph.D.

☐ M.D.

☐ LL.B.

☐ Ed.D.

☐ Don't plan to work for a degree

☐ Other degree (please specify) ______________________

☐ Not certain what degree I will go for

65. Have you applied (or have you been nominated) for financial support (scholarship, fellowship, teaching or research assistant, etc) for your graduate studies? (Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ No

(IF YES) What have you applied or been nominated for? ______________

____

66. Have you applied for admission to any graduate or professional schools?

☐ Yes

☐ No, not yet

(IF YES) What schools have you applied to? (If more than one, please list them in order of your preference)

____

____

____

FOR SENIORS EXPECTING TO GO TO GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL NEXT YEAR (Cont)

67. In terms of your finances during the next academic year when you are in graduate or professional school, from which of the following sources do you expect to receive $200 or more? (Check all that apply)

☐ Full time job

☐ Part time job other than teaching or research assistantship

☐ Teaching or research assistantship

☐ Fellowship or scholarship

☐ National Defense Education Act Loan

☐ Other loan

☐ Parents or relatives

☐ Income from spouse's employment

☐ Other (please specify) ______________________

SKIP TO QUESTION 73

FOR SENIORS NOT EXPECTING TO GO TO GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL NEXT YEAR

68. Which of the following best explains why you would not go to graduate or professional school next year? (Check all that apply)

☐ No desire to do so
☐ Can get a desirable job without further schooling
☐ Am unsure about what I want to study
☐ My academic record in college was not good enough
☐ Financial obstacles
☐ Family responsibilities
☐ I want to get practical experience first
☐ I am not sure I have the necessary ability
☐ I would rather get married
☐ I lack the necessary undergraduate course prerequisites
☐ I'm tired of being a student
☐ Graduate work is not relevant to my personal or occupational goals
☐ Military service
☐ Other (please specify) ______________________

GO TO QUESTION 69.

FOR NON-SENIORS AND SENIORS NOT EXPECTING TO GO TO GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL NEXT YEAR.

69. Do you expect to continue your education in a graduate or professional school some time in the future?

☐ **Definitely yes**
☐ **Probably yes** — ANSWER QUESTIONS 70 THROUGH 72
☐ **Probably not**
☐ **Definitely not** — SKIP TO QUESTION 73
☐ **Don't know**

70. In what year do you think you will start going to graduate or professional school?

____

71. What will be your field of study? ______________________________

72. How certain are you that this will be your field of study?

☐ **Quite certain**

☐ **Fairly certain, but possibly subject to change**

☐ **Fairly uncertain**

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE TO BE ANSWERED BY EVERYONE.

73. Have you decided what occupation or type of work you expect to enter after you have graduated or completed any further training? (Check one)

☐ **Yes, and very sure of my decision**

☐ **Yes, and fairly sure**

☐ **Yes, but not at all sure**

☐ **No, undecided among 2 or 3 choices**

☐ **No, don't really know what I want to do**

☐ **No, I'm not really interested in an occupation; I'm just interested in marriage and a family**

74. Please describe as specifically as you can, the occupation or type of work you think you will enter. (If you are uncertain about your work decision, answer in terms of the occupation you would probably choose if you had to make a decision now.)

(For instance, if possible, don't just say "Go into TV"; instead, please specify whether it is TV production, acting, directing, etc.

Or, don't just say "Business"; instead, please specify whether it is a family business, owning your own business, business management, size of company; whether you are considering some specialized aspect of business such as "public relations," "auditing or accounting," etc.

Or, if you're interested in government, please specify what department (foreign service, labor, etc) and whether you're thinking of elective office or government service, etc.

Or, if you're interested in "teaching English," please specify what level of teaching (high school, college, etc), and whether it is only teaching or a combination of teaching and research, or teaching and creative writing, etc).

____

____

____

____

EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER THE REMAINING QUESTIONS ABOUT OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE. IF YOU ARE UNCERTAIN ABOUT YOUR CHOICE, ANSWER IN TERMS OF THE OCCUPATION YOU WOULD PROBABLY CHOOSE IF YOU HAD TO MAKE A DECISION NOW.

75. Which of the following statements comes closest to describing how you decided on this occupation? (Check one)

☐ I thought about it a great deal, weighing the pros and cons before arriving at a decision

☐ I didn't really think a great deal about it - but felt pretty sure it was something I wanted to do

☐ I didn't think much about it - I pretty much just drifted into it

76. How long have you felt that this is something you wanted to do? (Check one)

☐ As far back as I can remember

☐ Since my grammar school days

☐ Since my high school days

☐ Since my freshman year in college

☐ Since my sophomore year

☐ Since my junior year

☐ Since my senior year began

77. How much do you feel that this type of work expresses your particular talents and interests? (Check one)

☐ It's a unique expression of my talents and interests - more so than anything else I can think of

☐ It's a good expression of my talents and interests - but there are one or two others that would be as good or even better

☐ It expresses my talents and interests - but there are several others that would be as good or even better

☐ It's not a particularly good expression of my talents and interests

78. How would you evaluate your own ability or skill for doing this kind of work?

☐ I'm absolutely sure about my ability, I don't have any doubts at all

☐ I'm very sure I have the ability to do this kind of work

☐ I'm fairly sure I have the ability

☐ I have some doubt about my ability, but it's probably adequate to do this kind of work

79. How important would you say the following things are in your decision about whether to go into this kind of work?

NOT EVERYTHING SHOULD BE CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT. BE SURE YOU LET US KNOW THE ONES THAT REALLY COUNT FOR YOU.

	Not too Important	Fairly Important	Very Important	Crucially Important
a. This occupation is a very respected one in our society	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. This occupation provides many opportunities for advancement	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. In this occupation I will not have to work under very high pressure	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. I didn't really know much about others; at least I knew more about this than others	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. This occupation is a unique fit with my abilities and skills - lets me do the things I can do best	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. This occupation is a unique expression of my interests, something I really like	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. This occupation gives me a chance to exercise leadership and responsibility	☐	☐	☐	☐
h. This occupation gives me a chance to be helpful to others and/or useful to society in general	☐	☐	☐	☐
i. In this occupation I can be creative and original	☐	☐	☐	☐
j. This occupation promises a secure future	☐	☐	☐	☐
k. This occupation brings a good salary - the income is high	☐	☐	☐	☐
l. This occupation leaves me relatively free of supervision by others	☐	☐	☐	☐
m. This occupation gives me a chance to work with people rather than things	☐	☐	☐	☐
n. This occupation allows me to run a household at the same time	☐	☐	☐	☐

80. Look back at this list.

First, pick out the one thing that is most important to you. Write the letter here. _____ MOST IMPORTANT THING

Then, pick out the one thing that is second most important. _____ SECOND MOST IMPORTANT

81. How about the setting - like working for yourself, in a big company, in a government agency. Do you have a picture of the kind of setting you'd like to work in, or are you not sure about that? (Check one)

☐ Yes

☐ No, not sure

(IF YES) What kind of setting would you like? ______________________

Why would you like that? ______________________

82. Sometimes people feel their actual plans are the result of some kind of compromise with what they really want to do. What about you? Does your occupational choice represent a compromise at all? (Check one)

☐ No, it does not represent a compromise

☐ Yes, it's a bit of a compromise for me

☐ Yes, it's very much a compromise for me

(IF YES) What kinds of things made the compromise necessary? ______________________

What other occupation(s) would you like *if* this compromise were not necessary?

83. To what extent was each of the following people important in your decision about whether to go into this kind of work? (Please check one alternative after each of the people listed below)

	Of Crucial Importance	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Too Important	Not at All Important
Father	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mother	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Brother, sister, other relative	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
High school teacher or advisor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My official faculty advisor	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other Michigan faculty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Administrative staff at Michigan (residence counselor, staff in the Office of Student Affairs, etc)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friend(s) not at Michigan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friend(s) at Michigan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Someone in this occupation (Please specify who) ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Some other person (Please specify who) ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

84. Which of the following statements best describes your position regarding an occupational choice when you entered Michigan? (Check one)

☐ I had the same choice I do now
☐ I was undecided then and I still am
☐ I didn't have a choice then but I do now
☐ I had a choice then but I have a different one now
☐ I had a choice then but I am undecided now

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

84. (Cont)

If your current decision differs in any way from how you felt when you entered Michigan, could you give some of the reasons for why you changed?

____

____

____

85. What part would you say your parents played or are playing in helping you to make or think about an occupational choice? (Check one alternative for father and one for mother)

	Father	Mother
His (her) opinions have been the major influence - I've pretty much accepted his (her) opinions about an occupational choice	☐	☐
He (she) has played a critical role in my thinking about this - is really helping me think this through	☐	☐
He (she) have played a supportive, encouraging role - has been interested, but I am really thinking this through myself	☐	☐
He (she) has had very little to do with this	☐	☐
He (she) has been really against my decision	☐	☐
Parent deceased	☐	☐

Now, some questions about marriage.

86. How do you feel about marriage - how certain are you that you want to marry someday? (Check one)

☐ Very certain
☐ Fairly certain
☐ Fairly uncertain
☐ Very uncertain
☐ I am already married

87. What do you think will actually happen--do you think you will marry some day? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Yes, certainly
- ☐ Yes, probably
- ☐ Might or might not marry
- ☐ Will probably not marry
- ☐ I am already married

88. Can you imagine yourself as a person who never marries? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No, not really
- ☐ I am already married

89. How would you describe the kind of person you want to marry? What are the characteristics or qualities you think are most important to you in the person you marry?

90. Are you now --- (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Married (GO TO Q. 91)
- ☐ Engaged (GO TO Q. 91)
- ☐ Going steady but not formally engaged (GO TO Q. 91)
- ☐ None of the above (SKIP TO Q. 98 ON PAGE 51)

QUESTIONS 91 THROUGH 97 REFER TO THE PERSON TO WHOM YOU ARE MARRIED, ENGAGED OR WITH WHOM YOU ARE GOING STEADY.

91. In what year did you first meet? ______ (year)

92. Was he or she ever a student at the University of Michigan? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes, is a student at Michigan now
☐ Yes, was a student at Michigan but is not now
☐ No, never was a Michigan student

(IF IS OR EVER WAS A MICHIGAN STUDENT): What is his or her name, and when was he or she at Michigan?

NAME	YEARS AT MICHIGAN FROM	TO
____________________	______	______

93. Where did you meet? (CHECK ONE)

☐ At the University of Michigan (PLEASE SPECIFY WHERE--E.G., FRENCH CLASS, PARTY AT A FRIEND'S HOUSE, AT A MEETING OF __________ ORGANIZATION)

____

____

☐ Somewhere else

94. What is he or she doing now? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

☐ Working (PLEASE SPECIFY TYPE OF WORK) ____________________

____

☐ Attending school (PLEASE SPECIFY NAME OF SCHOOL, CLASS LEVEL, AND MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY)

____

____

☐ Military
☐ Housewife
☐ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) ____________________

95. What are his or her occupational plans for the future?

____

____

____

96. Where is he or she living now? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Ann Arbor
☐ Somewhere else (PLEASE SPECIFY) ____________________

97. Where do you plan to live when you settle down?

☐ In or near my home town
☐ In or near his or her home town
If you are both from the same home town and plan to settle there, CHECK BOTH BOXES
☐ Somewhere else (PLEASE SPECIFY) ________________________

____

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE FOR EVERYONE

98. If things worked out the way you wanted, when would you like to get married? (CHECK ONE)

☐ As soon as possible
☐ One or two years from now
☐ 3 or 4 years from now
☐ 5 to 10 years from now
☐ More than 10 years from now
☐ Don't want to get married
☐ Am already married

99. How soon after you get married would you like to start having children? (CHECK ONE)

☐ As soon as possible
☐ One or 2 years after marriage
☐ 3 or 4 years after marriage
☐ 5 to 10 years after marriage
☐ More than 10 years after marriage
☐ Do not want to have children

If you do want to have children, how many children would you like to have? ____

QUESTION 100 IS TO BE ANSWERED BY MEN ONLY

QUESTIONS 101 THROUGH 104 ARE TO BE ANSWERED BY WOMEN ONLY

100. (MEN ONLY) How would you feel about marrying a woman who has her own career? (CHECK ONE)

☐ I would like the idea--I think it's a good idea for a woman to combine marriage and a career
☐ It would be all right -- although it might cause some problems
☐ I would not like the idea -- I don't think it's a good idea for a woman to combine marriage and a career
☐ It wouldn't matter to me one way or the other

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

100. (continued)

100a. Why do you feel this way?

____

____

____

(SKIP TO QUESTION 105)

101. (WOMEN ONLY) Do you expect to work after you get married, before you have children? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Uncertain

102. (WOMEN ONLY) If you do have children, do you expect to work after you have children? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Uncertain

102a. What would be your major reason for wanting (or not wanting) to work after you have children?

____

____

____

103. (WOMEN ONLY) If you do go back to work after you have children, when would you expect to go--we mean, to a job that would take at least 15 or 20 hours a week? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Soon after the children are born
☐ When the children reach nursery school
☐ When the children reach kindergarten or first grade
☐ When the children go into junior high school
☐ When the children go into high school
☐ When the children go into college
☐ When the children leave home
☐ Do not expect to work after I have children

104. (WOMEN ONLY) Do you feel any conflict between a desire for marriage and a career? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes, I feel a strong conflict
☐ Yes, I feel some conflict
☐ No, I don't really want to get married
☐ No, I don't really want a career
☐ No, I want both, but I feel no conflict

FOR EVERYONE

NOW, SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR OWN INTERESTS, ATTITUDES, AND BELIEFS

105. First, we would like you to think about yourself and how you might describe yourself as a person. On the next page are some characteristics used by many people in describing themselves. Each characteristic is represented graphically by a scale.

PLEASE INDICATE THE LOCATION ON EACH SCALE WHERE
YOU PRESENTLY PICTURE YOURSELF BY AN: X.

If you feel that one or the other end of the scale is extremely related to what you are like as a person, place your X as follows:

warm _X_:___:___:___:___:___:___ cold

or

warm ___:___:___:___:___:___:_X_ cold

If one end is quite closely related to what you are like as a person, X as follows:

warm ___:_X_:___:___:___:___:___ cold

or

warm ___:___:___:___:___:_X_:___ cold

If one end is only slightly related to what you are like as a person, X as follows:

warm ___:___:_X_:___:___:___:___ cold

or

warm ___:___:___:___:_X_:___:___ cold

If both ends of a particular scale seem not at all relevant to what you are like as a person, or if both ends of the scale seem equally relevant, place your X in the middle: (PLEASE USE THIS CATEGORY ONLY WHEN YOU FIND IT COMPLETELY IMPOSSIBLE TO X EITHER SIDE OF THE SCALE)

Please do not be concerned with the way your answers would be judged by others; this is completely irrelevant here. Remember, you are describing yourself to yourself--not to other people. The only requirement is that you be honest with yourself.

105. (continued)

MYSELF AS A PERSON

Please be sure to check each scale with an X

social ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ solitary
free ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ constrained
masculine ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ feminine
handsome ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ plain
rigid ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ spontaneous
religious ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ agnostic
soft ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ hard
impulsive ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ deliberate
interested in others ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ interested in self
politically conservative ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ politically liberal
strong ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ weak
closed ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ open
sensitive ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ insensitive
happy ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ unhappy
rely on own opinions ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ rely on others' opinions
conventional ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ unconventional
artistic ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ inartistic
clever ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ not clever
active ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ quiet
relaxed ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ tense
anxious ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ confident
competent ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ not too competent
happy go lucky ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ serious
successful ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ not too successful
depend on others ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ others depend on me
warm ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ cold
intellectual ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ nonintellectual
practical ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ a dreamer

106. Most people are neither completely satisfied nor dissatisfied with themselves. They're satisfied with some things about themselves and they'd like to change in certain ways.

First, please go over the list of characteristics presented on page 54 and pick out the three or four that you are most satisfied with - the things that you feel are your particular strong points. Write these characteristics down in the spaces that follow. Remember that the characteristics are to come from the list presented on page 54.

I am particularly satisfied with how ______________________________,

______________________________, ______________________________,

and ______________________________ I am.

NOTE: IN THIS QUESTION AND IN QUESTION 107 BELOW, IF YOU FEEL THAT THE "THREE OR FOUR" FIGURE IS TOO ARBITRARY, FEEL FREE TO WRITE DOWN MORE OR FEWER CHARACTERISTICS.

107. Now, go over the same list on page 54, and pick out the three or four characteristics that you are most dissatisfied with, the things you would most like to change about yourself. Write these down in the spaces that follow.

I would like to be more ______________________________,

______________________________, ______________________________,

and ______________________________ than I am.

108. If you let yourself go and really dream, which of the following would you rather be? (RANK THE THREE THAT YOU WOULD MOST WANT TO BE, PLACING A "1" IN FRONT OF THE ONE YOU WANT MOST, AND A "2" AND "3" IN FRONT OF YOUR NEXT TWO CHOICES)

____ Very beautiful (handsome) and attractive to the opposite sex

____ Very rich - from a rich family

____ Famous for my work, some outstanding achievement

____ A simple person - able to live a life of daily enjoyment, without needing any great peaks, but at the same time never hitting any low depths

____ A creative person, richly gifted with talent, imaginativeness, an original view

____ A person of extraordinary social poise, completely at ease in any social gathering

____ A leader, an influential person

109. To what extent do you feel that a person should try to become close friends with others? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Be self-sufficient and don't form close ties with anyone; one doesn't get hurt that way

☐ Form close ties with only a few people who are really understanding and can be trusted

☐ Become close friends with anyone you trust; a lot of people can be trusted but a lot cannot

☐ Try to become close friends with all the people you know; most people will be loyal friends if they know they are trusted, though a few may take advantage of such trust

☐ Let people know you trust them and want to be close friends with them; they will respond in kind

110. Assuming that they were both nice people, would you rather spend time with a person who is very much like you (in interests, viewpoints, and life-experiences), or with someone who is different, who looks at things from a different perspective? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Very much prefer the one who is similar to me

☐ Somewhat prefer the one who is similar to me

☐ Somewhat prefer the one who is different from me

☐ Very much prefer the one who is different from me

111. In the list below are some of the problems and issues which college students most often mention as sources of concern to them, the things they think about a lot. For each statement, please consider how much you have thought about or been concerned about the issue during the last year or two. Check one alternative for each statement.

	Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	A little concerned	Not at all concerned
ABOUT WORK				
a. Deciding on a vocation - will I be able to find any work that will really interest me for my whole life	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Do I have what it takes to succeed in the world	☐	☐	☐	☐
ABOUT FRIENDS AND SOCIAL SUCCESS				
c. Popularity - will I be socially successful, be accepted by the groups I want to get into	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. Getting along with members of the opposite sex - will I be able to hold the interest of boys (girls) I like	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. Sexual standards - deciding what my own standards are or should be	☐	☐	☐	☐
ABOUT LOVE AND MARRIAGE				
f. Whether I will get married - find someone I love and want to marry who wants to marry me	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. Whether I can have a happy and stable marriage	☐	☐	☐	☐
h. Whether anyone could love me enough to want to marry me	☐	☐	☐	☐
i. Whether I am capable of consistent and continuing love for one person	☐	☐	☐	☐
ABOUT HAVING CHILDREN				
j. Whether I want to have children	☐	☐	☐	☐
k. Whether I can accept the responsibilities of being a parent	☐	☐	☐	☐
l. Whether I can raise happy and healthy children	☐	☐	☐	☐

111. (Cont)

	Very concerned	Somewhat concerned	A little concerned	Not at all concerned
ABOUT MY FAMILY				
m. Getting along with my parents - the fact that I have problems with my parents	☐	☐	☐	☐
ABOUT MYSELF				
n. Problems of concentrating - the fact that I am restless and bored, unable to concentrate for very long	☐	☐	☐	☐
o. A feeling that I am always acting, never being true to myself or being myself	☐	☐	☐	☐
p. Whether I am developing normally	☐	☐	☐	☐
q. Social sensitivity - a feeling that I get hurt too easily	☐	☐	☐	☐
r. Having a bad temper, the fact that I get angry too often and too easily	☐	☐	☐	☐
s. The fact that I don't seem to want to grow up	☐	☐	☐	☐

112. How much have you thought about the questions, "Who am I? What do I want? What will I become?"? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ A great deal; this is the thing I think about most
- ☐ I think about it quite frequently
- ☐ Rarely, only occasionally
- ☐ Not at all--I have always taken myself pretty much for granted

113. How self-critical are you--how often do you have the feeling that you're missing your own ideals by some margin--never quite living up to your ideals? (CHECK ONE)

- ☐ Very self-critical--I feel this way most of the time
- ☐ Somewhat self-critical--I feel this quite often
- ☐ Not very self-critical--I feel this rarely
- ☐ Not at all self-critical--I never feel this way

114. We are interested in what students do in their leisure time. Please check, for each of the activities listed at left, whether you have done it, and how much you enjoyed it. (CHECK ONE FOR EACH ITEM)

	Have done this, enjoyed it very much	Have done this, enjoyed it moderately	Have done this, did not enjoy it much	Have rarely done this
Reading poetry	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reading fiction	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reading biography	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reading history	☐	☐	☐	☐
Listening to serious or "classical" music	☐	☐	☐	☐
Listening to jazz	☐	☐	☐	☐
Listening to folk music	☐	☐	☐	☐
Listening to popular music	☐	☐	☐	☐

115. About how often do you go to the movies? (CHECK ONE)

☐ 2 times a week or more
☐ About once a week
☐ 2 or 3 times a month
☐ About once a month
☐ Less than once a month

116. Have you attended any concerts at the University during the past year?

☐ Yes
☐ No

(IF YES) How many have you attended? (CHECK ONE)

☐ One
☐ Two
☐ Three or more

117. Have you attended any public lectures at the University during the past year?

☐ Yes
☐ No

(IF YES) How many have you attended? (CHECK ONE)

☐ One
☐ Two
☐ Three or more

118. **Have you attended any plays sponsored by the University during the past year?**

☐ **Yes**
☐ **No**

(IF YES) How many have you attended? (CHECK ONE)

☐ **One**
☐ **Two**
☐ **Three or more**

119. **In an average week during the past academic year, how many hours have you spent playing cards (e.g., bridge, poker, etc.) (CHECK ONE)**

☐ **None, or less than an hour**
☐ **One or two hours**
☐ **Three or four hours**
☐ **Five or more hours**

120. **In an average week during the past academic year, about how many hours have you spent watching television? (CHECK ONE)**

☐ **None, or less than one hour**
☐ **One or two hours**
☐ **Three or four hours**
☐ **Five or more hours**

121. **Do you get a chance to do much serious reading, aside from what you do for your courses? (CHECK ONE)**

☐ **I do quite a lot of serious reading**
☐ **I occasionally do**
☐ **I don't have a chance to do much serious reading**

122. **How many books do you yourself own, not counting textbooks, but counting serious paperbacks?**

About ______________

123. **Over the past year are there any magazines that you have been reading regularly?**

☐ **Yes**
☐ **No**

(IF YES) What are they? ______________________________

____

____

124. On the average, how many hours a week outside of class hours have you spent in studying during this past year? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Less than 6 hours a week
☐ 6 to 10
☐ 11 to 15
☐ 16 to 20
☐ 21 to 25
☐ 26 to 30
☐ 31 to 40
☐ 41 to 50
☐ More than 50 hours a week

125. On the average, how many hours per week are you spending in part-time work for pay this year in college? (CHECK ONE)

☐ None
☐ Less than 6 hours a week
☐ 6 to 10
☐ 11 to 15
☐ 16 to 20
☐ 21 to 25
☐ 26 to 30
☐ More than 30 hours a week

126. During the past year, how often, on the average, have you had evening dates here at the University? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Less than once a month
☐ About once a month
☐ Two or three times a month
☐ Once a week
☐ Two or three times a week
☐ More than three times a week
☐ I am already married

127. How satisfied or dissatisfied have you been with your dating and social life here at Michigan? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Very satisfied
☐ Fairly satisfied
☐ Fairly dissatisfied
☐ Very dissatisfied
☐ I am already married

128. What, if anything, do you dislike, or find unpleasant about the dating life or dating setup here at Michigan?

____

____

____

Now we would like to get your opinions on issues that have appeared in the news lately.

129. Please indicate how you feel about each of the following statements. (Check one alternative for each statement)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The way they are run now, labor unions do this country more harm than good	☐	☐	☐	☐
Big companies control too much of American business	☐	☐	☐	☐
A former member of the Communist Party who refuses to reveal the names of Party members he had known should not be allowed to teach in a college or university	☐	☐	☐	☐
There is too much conformity among American college students	☐	☐	☐	☐
Legislative committees should not investigate the political beliefs of university faculty members	☐	☐	☐	☐
Books and movies ought not to deal so much with the unpleasant and seamy side of life; they ought to concentrate on themes that are entertaining or uplifting	☐	☐	☐	☐
The government should have the right to withhold relevant FBI files from defendants in criminal cases, when opening the files to them might reveal the names of confidential informants	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is proper for the government to refuse a passport to a Socialist	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is proper to reclassify students who sit in at the draft board	☐	☐	☐	☐
Police are unduly hampered these days in their efforts to apprehend and deal with criminals	☐	☐	☐	☐

130. If a Negro with the same income and education as you have moved into your block, would it make any difference to you? (Check one)

☐ Yes, it would make a difference

☐ No, it wouldn't make any difference

☐ Don't know if it would

131. Do you think most Negroes in the U.S. are being treated fairly or unfairly? (Check one)

☐ Fairly

☐ Unfairly

☐ Don't know

132. How do you think your opinions on issues of race relations would compare with your parents' opinions? My parents' opinions would be: (Check one)

☐ More liberal than mine

☐ About the same as mine

☐ More conservative than mine

☐ One parent more liberal; the other more conservative

☐ Can't answer the question. (Parents dead; they have no opinions on such issues; etc)

133. What is your opinion about the Peace Corps? (Check one)

☐ An excellent program about which I am enthusiastic

☐ A good idea of which I am very much in favor

☐ A good idea but I am not enthusiastic

☐ Probably a good idea but I am not enthusiastic

☐ Probably not a good idea but I am not sure

☐ Definitely not a good idea

☐ Don't know enough about it to have an opinion

134. Please indicate how you feel about each of the following important public issues. (Check one alternative for each issue)

	Strongly Approve	Approve	Indif-ferent	Oppose	Strongly Oppose
Firm U.S. action against the Castro government in Cuba	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Increased spending for defense	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Congressional investigations of "Un-American Activities"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Agreement with the USSR to end nuclear testing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Increased student interest in political action	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social Security coverage for medical care of older people	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Giving Communist China a seat in the U.N.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The decision to send our armed forces to the Dominican Republic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Student demonstrations protesting U.S. involvement in the war in Viet Nam	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Civil Rights sit-in demonstrations	☐		☐	☐	☐

Now for some questions dealing with politics.

135. About how much interest would you say you have in national and world affairs? (Check one)

☐ A great deal
☐ A moderate amount
☐ Only a little
☐ None at all

136. Compared with most students you know, how well informed do you consider yourself in national and world affairs? (Check one)

☐ More informed than most
☐ About the same as most
☐ Less informed than most

137. How do you feel about our government's present policy in Viet Nam? (Check one)

☐ I strongly approve our government's present policy

☐ In general I approve our government's present policy

☐ I approve some aspects of our present policy, oppose others

☐ In general I oppose our present policy

☐ I strongly oppose our present policy

If you have any disagreement with our government's present policy, in what way do you disagree?

____

____

____

138. What do you feel our government's policy in Viet Nam should be? (Check one)

☐ Withdraw completely from Viet Nam

☐ Remain in Viet Nam but adopt a more conciliatory position - e.g., stop bombing North and South Viet Nam, make active efforts to negotiate directly with the Viet Cong

☐ Continue the policy our government is presently pursuing

☐ Adopt a stronger military position - e.g., bombing Hanoi

☐ Adopt a much stronger military position, even if it means a direct confrontation with Communist China

☐ Other (please specify) ______________________

____

____

____

139. During the past few weeks, how often have you discussed national or world affairs with friends, acquaintances or family? (Check one)

☐ Daily or almost daily

☐ Several times in the past few weeks

☐ Once or twice in this time

☐ Never in this period

140. Regardless of immediate issues, how do you usually think of yourself - as a Republican, or Democrat, or what? (Check one)

☐ **Republican**

☐ **Democrat**

☐ **Independent**

☐ **Socialist**

☐ **Other (please specify)** ______________________________

If you checked Republican or Democrat, would you consider yourself: (Check one)

☐ **Conservative Republican**

☐ **Moderate Republican**

☐ **Liberal Republican**

☐ **Conservative Democrat**

☐ **Moderate Democrat**

☐ **Liberal Democrat**

141. What party does (or did) your father usually support in national elections? (Check one)

☐ **Republican**

☐ **Democratic**

☐ **Sometimes one; sometimes the other**

☐ **Other (please specify)**______________________________

142. How about your mother - what party does (or did) she usually support in national elections?

☐ **Republican**

☐ **Democratic**

☐ **Sometimes one; sometimes the other**

☐ **Other (please specify)**______________________________

(PLEASE GO ON TO PART TWO)

Senior Questionnaire - Part Two

-1-

One of the major things that we hope to learn in this study is the pattern of associations among students at the University of Michigan. We are particularly interested in friendships and groups of friends and in the role these play in college life. Most of Part Two of this questionnaire is about your college friendships -- where you have met your friends, the activities and interests you share, and something about the meaning of these friendships to you.

A number of these questions will require care and thoughtfulness in answering. In order to study friendship systematically, we have to provide a common rating scheme which every student uses in describing his own friendships. Of course, this common scheme will not completely capture the quality of your particular friendships, but we hope you will try to make the scheme as applicable to your situation as possible. Please read the instructions very carefully, since the procedures we are asking you to follow in this part of the questionnaire are more complex than you may have encountered in most questionnaires.

In a number of these questions, we are asking you to give the names of friends here at Michigan. We are asking this to enable us to analyze the data according to groupings of friends. We promise the same confidentiality for the people you mention as we have promised you in participating in this study. Your responses will be seen only by a small research staff, coded and punched into IBM cards, and the data reported only in a statistical summary form.

1. First, who would you say are your five best friends here at Michigan -- the people you feel pretty close to, whether fellows or girls, romantic or non-romantic friends, fellow students or anyone else in your life at the University.

Please print the names of these friends in the appropriate spaces below and indicate their sex and class year (for example, sophomore or junior). For those friends of the opposite sex, also check whether the friendship is mainly a romantic or non-romantic one.

Please name five friends, even if some of these are not as close as the others. As we have indicated, we are interested in the friends' names only to enable us to analyze the data according to groupings of friends.

(Remember, we are interested in your five closest friends in your life here at Michigan, including men and women, students and nonstudents, romantic and non-romantic friends.)

Friend A: Name ______________________________ Year (if student) ________

(CHECK ONE) Male ☐ Female ☐

(IF OPPOSITE SEX, CHECK ONE) Romantic ☐ Non-romantic ☐

Friend B: Name ______________________________ Year (if student) ________

(CHECK ONE) Male ☐ Female ☐

(IF OPPOSITE SEX, CHECK ONE) Romantic ☐ Non-romantic ☐

Friend C: Name ______________________________ Year (if student) ________

(CHECK ONE) Male ☐ Female ☐

(IF OPPOSITE SEX, CHECK ONE) Romantic ☐ Non-romantic ☐

Friend D: Name ______________________________ Year (if student) ________

(CHECK ONE) Male ☐ Female ☐

(IF OPPOSITE SEX, CHECK ONE) Romantic ☐ Non-romantic ☐

Friend E: Name ______________________________ Year (if student) ________

(CHECK ONE) Male ☐ Female ☐

(IF OPPOSITE SEX, CHECK ONE) Romantic ☐ Non-romantic ☐

NOTE: IN ANSWERING THE ABOVE, PLEASE PRINT BOTH FIRST AND LAST NAMES OF YOUR FIVE FRIENDS.

2. What is the home town of each of the friends -- where do they come from?

Where they come from--City and State (Country if foreign)

Friend A: ____________________

Friend B: ____________________

Friend C: ____________________

Friend D: ____________________

Friend E: ____________________

3. Where do these five friends live? (PLEASE INDICATE TYPE AND NAME OF RESIDENTIAL CATEGORY AS WELL AS STREET ADDRESS--E.G., GREENE HOUSE, EAST QUAD; APARTMENT AT 619 EAST UNIVERSITY, ETC.)

Friend A: ____________________

Friend B: ____________________

Friend C: ____________________

Friend D: ____________________

Friend E: ____________________

4. Now, thinking of an average week, about how often would you say you get together with each of these five friends?

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH FRIEND.

	Friend A	Friend B	Friend C	Friend D	Friend E
At least once a day	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Almost every day	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Three or four times a week	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Once or twice a week	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Once every two or three weeks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Once a month or less frequently	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. How important would you say each of these friendships is to you? Think about importance this way. Suppose your friend suddenly had to leave Michigan for some reason and you could no longer see each other. If that happened, how much do you feel you'd miss your friend--how much loss would you feel?

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH FRIEND.

	Friend A	Friend B	Friend C	Friend D	Friend E
This friendship is of crucial importance to me -- I find it hard to think of life at Michigan without this friend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This friendship is very important to me -- I would miss this friend a good deal if this friend left Michigan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This friendship is fairly important to me -- I would miss this friendship somewhat if this friend left Michigan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This friendship is not really too important -- I would not really miss this friendship if this friend left Michigan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. We've talked about how important these friendships are to you. We'd like you to think, now, about how important the friendship is to each of your friends. Very often a friendship means more to one person than it does to the other. Sometimes it is equally important to each person. What about each of your friendships?

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH FRIEND.

	Friend A	Friend B	Friend C	Friend D	Friend E
This friendship is much more important to my friend than it is to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This friendship is a little more important to my friend than it is to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This friendship is equally important to both of us	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This friendship is a little more important to me than it is to my friend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
This friendship is much more important to me than it is to my friend	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. **Try to think of these five friendships in your future life--after you all leave Michigan. Which of these friendships do you feel you will really keep up in the years ahead--keep seeing each other, maintaining real contact throughout the years?**

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH FRIEND.

	Friend A	**Friend B**	**Friend C**	**Friend D**	**Friend E**
We will probably maintain real contact in the years ahead	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We will probably not maintain real contact in the years ahead	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. **When and where did you first meet each of these friends?**

Friend A: ____

____

____

Friend B: ____

____

____

Friend C: ____

____

____

Friend D: ____

____

____

Friend E: ____

____

____

9. **When would you say you became good friends with each of these people?**

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH FRIEND.

	Friend A	Friend B	Friend C	Friend D	Friend E
After my junior year at college	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
During my junior year	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
During my sophomore year	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
During my freshman year	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
During high school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Before high school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. **We have been talking about your five best friends at Michigan. Suppose we didn't restrict the question to Michigan, but asked you to name your five best friends generally, where would your Michigan friends fit in? (CHECK ONE)**

- ☐ **All of my five best friends at Michigan would be included in a list of my five best friends generally**
- ☐ **Three or four of my friends at Michigan would be included in a list of my five best friends generally**
- ☐ **One or two of my friends at Michigan would be included in a list of my five best friends generally**
- ☐ **None of my friends at Michigan would be included in a list of my five best friends generally**

11. **Now, we'd like to know how other people important to you might feel about your friends.**

First, let's take your parents. Is there anything about any of these five friendships that your parents would not completely approve of, for any reason?

- ☐ **Yes**
- ☐ **No**

(IF YES) Which friendships would your parents disapprove of, and why would they disapprove?

12. Which one of your five best friends at Michigan would you say is most different from the friends you used to have before you came to college?

____

12a. In what ways is this friend different from the friends you used to have?

____

____

____

____

YOU'VE MENTIONED AS MANY AS FIVE OF YOUR BEST FRIENDS AT MICHIGAN. IF TIME ALLOWED, WE'D LIKE TO ASK YOU ABOUT ALL OF THESE FRIENDS. TO MAKE THE QUESTIONNAIRE MANAGEABLE, HOWEVER, WE'D LIKE YOU TO SELECT ONLY TWO OF THESE FRIENDS FOR THE NEXT FEW QUESTIONS. YOU WILL NOTE THAT IN EACH QUESTION WE REFER TO THESE TWO FRIENDS AS FRIEND ONE AND FRIEND TWO.

13. Now, thinking again about your friends here at Michigan, please list two of these five best friends at Michigan. If possible, select the two you are closest to. If you feel equally close to all of these friends, just select any two of the five.

Name of FRIEND ONE here at Michigan (FIRST AND LAST NAMES):

____

Name of FRIEND TWO here at Michigan (FIRST AND LAST NAMES):

____

14. Now, we'd like to know a little about the things that are important to you in your friendships -- the satisfactions you get from them. On the next page you'll find a list of the kinds of things that students often mention in talking about what's important in their friendships. We'd like you to go over this list and think of each of the items in terms of the two friends you just selected above.

You'll notice that the list is very varied -- that there are many different kinds of satisfactions one might find in a friendship.

We'd like you to go down the list, rating each friendship on each item, using the following rating scheme:

Write in 1	**if the item is a crucially important aspect of the friendship for you -- if it is an essential basis of the friendship.**
Write in 2	**if the item is a fairly important aspect of the friendship for you -- if it is a major basis of the friendship**
Write in 3	**if the item is a slightly important aspect of the friendship for you -- if it is only a minor basis of the friendship**
Write in 0	**if the item is not an important aspect of the friendship for you**

14. (continued)

1 A crucially important aspect of the friendship--an essential basis of the friendship

2 A fairly important aspect of the friendship--a major basis of the friendship

3 A slightly important aspect of the friendship--only a minor basis of the friendship

0 Not an important aspect of the friendship

PLEASE RATE EACH FRIENDSHIP ON EACH ITEM	Friend One	Friend Two
A. This friend helps me with my studies	___	___
B. This friend broadens my social life--helps me meet other people, helps me get dates	___	___
C. This friend is someone I've depended upon and leaned on--someone I've needed for support	___	___
D. This friend depends upon me and needs me--the good feeling I get from being someone this friend depends on	___	___
E. My relationship with this friend is easy, relaxing, "comfortable"	___	___
F. This friend is different from me in some basic ways--I find the difference(s) interesting and challenging	___	___
G. This friend is someone I share my deepest personal feelings with--my confusions and self-doubts	___	___
H. I have stimulating talks with this friend--intellectual exchanges, exchange of ideas	___	___
I. This friend and I share a lot of activity interests--we like doing the same kinds of things	___	___
J. This friend and I have similar values about things--I get support for some of my basic values from this friend	___	___
K. This friend admires me, looks up to me--this gives me self-confidence, it's good for my ego	___	___
L. This friend is just a very likable person	___	___
M. This friend is someone I look to and learn from with respect to ideas or ways of looking at things	___	___
N. This friend is a model for the kind of person I would like to be	___	___
O. This friend likes me--the good feeling I get from feeling liked	___	___
P. This friend is knowledgeable--has a lot of information that has helped me with decisions	___	___

15. Now, referring again to the items in Question 14, which of these aspects do you feel is most crucial for your friendship with each friend? Then, which is the second most crucial for each friend? Please indicate how you feel by writing in below the letters which correspond to the appropriate items.

	Friend One	Friend Two
Most crucial aspect	___	___
Next most crucial aspect	___	___

16. Again, thinking about the aspects that are important to you in each of these two friendships--how easy or difficult would it be for you to find these aspects in some other friendship?

This is not asking you the same thing as how important the friendship is. You can feel that a friendship is very important and still feel that the things which are important in the friendship are things you also find, or could find, in other friendships if this friend were not at Michigan.

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH FRIEND.

	Friend One	Friend Two
It would be very easy to replace these aspects--to find them in other friendships	☐	☐
It would be fairly easy to replace these aspects--to find them in other friendships	☐	☐
It would be fairly difficult to replace these aspects--to find them in other friendships	☐	☐
It would be impossible to find these aspects in other friendships--they could not be replaced	☐	☐

17. NOW, WE"D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME OF THE INTERESTS, TASTES, AND VALUES THAT YOU AND YOUR TWO BEST FRIENDS MAY SHARE OR DIFFER IN.

On the following two pages is a list of things in which people have different degrees of interest.

First, in the column headed "IMPORTANCE TO ME", please indicate how you feel about each of the areas listed, according to the rating scheme that follows.

Then, after you've answered the question for yourself, please try to think how important these areas are to each of your two best friends, and go down the list again, indicating how you think each of your two best friends at Michigan would answer the same question. (If you feel you simply are unable to make the judgment in a particular area for a particular friend, use the question mark symbol below. Please use it only when you feel you really don't know.)

Write in 1 if the area is of very special interest, of great importance.

Write in 2 if the area represents a fairly important interest.

Write in 3 if the area is of minor importance.

Write in 0 if the area is of no interest at all, of no importance.

Write in ? if you are simply unable to make a judgment in this particular area for this friend, if you really don't know.

17. (continued)

1 The area is of very special interest, of great importance

2 The area represents a fairly important interest

3 The area is of minor importance

0 The area is of no interest at all, of no importance

? In this particular area I am simply unable to make a judgment for this friend -- I really don't know

Importance to Me	Area of interest	Importance to Friend One	Importance to Friend Two
___	Interest in athletics and sports	___	___
___	Interest in student organizations and activities here at Michigan; campus issues and politics	___	___
___	Interest in studying; taking the course work seriously	___	___
___	Interest in international understanding; ways of promoting peace; disarmament	___	___
___	Interest in close personal relationships; "reaching" and being sensitive to others	___	___
___	Interest in the world of ideas; the intellectual life; excitement in exploring new ideas	___	___
___	Interest in self-reflection; in thinking about what I'm going through, what I'm experiencing	___	___
___	Interest in evaluating myself and others with respect to being "sharp" or "cool"; concern with the kind of clothes that one wears; how one talks and behaves when he is with others	___	___
___	Interest in facts, in the "real" world	___	___
___	Interest in thinking about the kind of marriage I want; the kind of person to marry; the meaning of marriage for one's life	___	___
___	Interest in thinking about the kind of occupation or career I want	___	___
___	Interest in the present more than the past or future	___	___
___	Interest in music	___	___
___	Interest in art, painting, sculpture	___	___
___	Interest in literature, poetry	___	___

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

17. (continued)

USE THE RATING SCHEME IN THE CODE AT THE TOP OF PAGE 10

Importance to Me	Area of interest	Importance to Friend One	Importance to Friend Two
____	Interest in religious standards and beliefs; concern with taking a religious perspective toward life	____	____
____	Interest in the contemporary political scene; national and international affairs; current events	____	____
____	Interest in dating and social life	____	____
____	Interest in thinking about the kind of life I'll lead after college, the style of life I'll have	____	____

18. Now, one question about your past college friendships. Many of you filled out questionnaires two years ago - the second semester of 1964 - and named your five best friends at that time. For those of you who did not fill out questionnaires two years ago, try to think of the five people you would have named two years ago as your five best friends at Michigan. (If you filled out a questionnaire at that time and do not remember all the people you named, try to think of the five people you probably would have named.)

Who are the people who were your five best friends at Michigan two years ago but are not at this time? Please print their names below (first and last names), and mention the reasons why you no longer are as close as you used to be.

Name______________________________

____

____

____

____

Name______________________________

____

____

____

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

Name______________________________

Name______________________________

We have asked you many specific questions about particular aspects of your college experience. Now, a few general questions about your overall reactions to your years at Michigan.

19. What things about your years at Michigan have you found most satisfying?

20. As you look back over your college career at Michigan, have you found it disappointing in any way - are there any things you hoped to find or accomplish in college that haven't quite turned out the way you had hoped? (Check one)

☐ **Yes** ☐ **No (GO TO Q. 21)**

(IF YES) What are some of the things you feel disappointed about?

21. What would you say was your roughest period during your years here at Michigan? (PLEASE INDICATE WHEN PERIOD WAS - E.G., SECOND SEMESTER OF SOPHOMORE YEAR - AND IN WHAT WAY IT WAS ROUGH)

22. How about Michigan as an educational institution - your teachers and your classes. All in all, how satisfied would you say you've been with your classes and your teachers here at Michigan?

22a. What (if anything) did you find particularly satisfying about your classes and your teachers?

22b. What (if anything) are you dissatisfied about - what are some of your main criticisms of teachers and classes you've had at Michigan?

23. Could you think now of all faculty members or people in the administration here - is there any one person on the faculty or administration whom you especially respect or admire?

(IF YES) 23a. Who is that? (WRITE NAME AND DEPARTMENT BELOW)

23b. What is it that you particularly respect about him (her)?

23c. What kinds of contacts have you had with this person (e.g., teacher in a class, course advisor, someone to talk to about general problems bothering you, etc)

Some particular issues at Michigan -

24. How do you feel about the trimester system? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Very satisfied
☐ Fairly satisfied
☐ Satisfied in some ways, dissatisfied in others
☐ Fairly dissatisfied
☐ Very dissatisfied
☐ Indifferent

Why do you feel this way?

25. Have you ever been in the Pilot Project they've had at Michigan the past few years? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes, am in it now
☐ Yes, was in it but am no longer in it
→ ANSWER QUESTIONS 25a & 25b

☐ No, never was in it
☐ No, never heard of it
→ SKIP TO Q. 26

(IF YES) 25a. How do you feel about the Pilot Project? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Very satisfied
☐ Fairly satisfied
☐ Satisfied in some ways, dissatisfied in others
☐ Fairly dissatisfied
☐ Very dissatisfied
☐ Indifferent

25b. Why do you feel this way - what do you feel have been some of the good things and bad things about your experience in the Pilot Project?

____

____

____

____

____

26. How about the Residential College they are planning to start here in a couple of years - have you heard anything about that? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes (ANSWER Q. 26a-d) ☐ No (SKIP TO Q. 27)

(IF YES) 26a. What have you heard about it - what is it? ______________________________

____

____

26b. As far as you know, what is the idea back of it - what is its purpose?

____

____

____

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

26. (Cont)

(IF YES) (Cont) 26c. If you were entering as a freshman at Michigan and the Residential College was open, would you want to go to the Residential College? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Uncertain

26d. Why do you feel that way? ____________

27. In previous parts of this questionnaire, we have asked you a number of questions about ways in which you feel you have changed since coming to Michigan. We are particularly interested in changes in ideas, beliefs or values - such things as religious beliefs, political beliefs, ways of viewing people.

If you feel you have changed at all in things like this, could you describe some of the ways you have changed? (PLEASE INDICATE WHAT YOUR VIEW WAS BEFORE AND WHAT IT IS NOW.)

28. We are also particularly interested in how your years here at the University may have been important in helping you shape your occupational plans - not just in deciding what occupation you want, but the particular aspect of the occupation you might be interested in.

As you think of your University years, can you recall any particular people - faculty, student friends, people in the administration - who have been important in helping you think through your occupational plans?

☐ Yes ☐ No

(IF YES) Who was that and in what way was he important? ____________

29. (FOR SENIORS ONLY) As you are approaching the end of your college years, have you felt any uneasiness or concern about coming to the end of this stage of life - any feelings of "not being ready," of decisions you're not quite ready to make, of not being exactly sure what you want to do with your life? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Have felt a great deal of concern and uncertainty
☐ Have felt some concern and uncertainty (ANSWER Q. 29a)
☐ Have felt a little concern and uncertainty
☐ Have not really felt any concern or uncertainty

29a. If you have felt any concern or uncertainty, what are some of the things you have felt concerned or uncertain about?

(PLEASE GO ON TO PART III)

Senior Questionnaire - Part Three

ABOUT YOUR FRIENDSHIPS AND GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

1. First, we would like to get some brief additional information on your five best friends at Michigan. (PLEASE REFER TO QUESTION 1 ON PAGE 2 OF PART TWO OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE TO REMIND YOU WHOM YOU LISTED AS YOUR FIVE BEST FRIENDS.) For each of your five best friends, please write in their names, their Major, whether or not they are in the Honors Program, and how many of the same classes you and this friend were in together this past year.

NOTE: IF FRIEND IS NOT A STUDENT, WRITE "Not student" UNDER Major. IF YOU DO NOT KNOW FRIEND'S MAJOR, WRITE IN "DK".

			In Honors Program? (CHECK ONE)		Number of classes I shared with this friend the past two terms (WRITE IN NUMBER)
	Name (WRITE IN)	Major (WRITE IN)	Yes	No	
Friend A	______________	__________	☐	☐	___
Friend B	______________	__________	☐	☐	___
Friend C	______________	__________	☐	☐	___
Friend D	______________	__________	☐	☐	___
Friend E	______________	__________	☐	☐	___

2. Now, a final question about the people you named as your two best friends at Michigan. PLEASE REFER TO Q. 13 ON PAGE 7 OF PART TWO OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE TO REMIND YOU OF THESE TWO PEOPLE. WRITE THEIR NAMES BELOW.

Friend One: ____________________

Friend Two: ____________________

In this question we would like you to compare some of your interests with those of these two friends (and with those of your parents). Below are listed six important areas, or interests, in life. People differ in the emphasis or degree of importance that they attribute to each of these interests.

First, please rank the six interests in terms of their IMPORTANCE TO YOU. Insert a "1" for the area of greatest importance, "2" for the next most important to you, and so on down to "6" representing the least important to you. Note that all numbers from "1" to "6" should be used, and that no number should be used for more than one area of interest.

Then, please estimate how your two friends at Michigan would rank the same interests.

And finally, estimate how each of your parents would rank the same interests.

Please note: Your response should be made to the complete statement about each of the interests, and not just to the first word, which is only a convenient label--what the word means to you may not at all correspond to the statement which follows it.

IMPORTANCE TO ME		IMPORTANCE TO FRIEND ONE	IMPORTANCE TO FRIEND TWO	IMPORTANCE TO FATHER	IMPORTANCE TO MOTHER
___	Theoretical: empirical, critical, or rational matters - observing and reasoning, ordering and systematizing, discovering truths	___	___	___	___
___	Economic: that which is useful and practical, especially the practical affairs of the business world; preference for judging things by their tangible utility	___	___	___	___
___	Aesthetic: beauty, form, and harmony for its own sake; an artistic interpretation of life	___	___	___	___
___	Social: human relationships and love; interest in human beings for their own sake	___	___	___	___
___	Political: power and influence; leadership and competition	___	___	___	___
___	Religious: religious experience as providing satisfaction and meaning; interest in relating oneself to the unity of the universe as a whole	___	___	___	___

3. **How about the friends you knew before you came to Michigan--are you still close with the people who were your best friends before you came to college and who did not come to Michigan with you? (CHECK ONE)**

   ☐ **Yes, still close with most of them**

   ☐ **Yes, still close with one or two of them**

   ☐ **No, not really close with any of them**

Now, some questions about your extra-curricular activities ---

4. **How active would you say you have been in extra-curricular activities on campus this year? (CHECK ONE)**

   ☐ **Extremely active**

   ☐ **Quite active**

   ☐ **Moderately active**

   ☐ **Not very active**

5. **What one extra-curricular activity has had first claim on your time and interest?**

   ____

6. **Have you ever run for an elective class or campus office?**

   ☐ **No**

   ☐ **Yes (PLEASE SPECIFY BELOW)**

What office?	Year Ran	Were you elected? (CHECK ONE) Yes	No
____________	_____	☐	☐
____________	_____	☐	☐
____________	_____	☐	☐

7. We are particularly interested in the student organizations on campus. We are interested not only in present memberships, but in any contact you may have had in the past. So, please try to remember your experiences with student groups over the years here at the University. The following list will remind you of the kinds of student organizations on campus.

Religious (e.g., Guild House, Lutheran Student Center, Michigan Christian Fellowship, Newman Student Association)

Political (e.g., VOICE, Young Americans for Freedom, Young Democrats, Young Republicans)

Professional or Departmental (e.g., Economics Society, Marketing Club, American Institute of Chemical Engineers)

Foreign Students (e.g., African Students' Union, Iranian Student Association)

Amateur Athletics, Hobbies and Social Groups (e.g., U of M Amateur Radio Club, Folk Dance Club, U of M Rifle Club, U of M Sailing Club)

Productions, Publications, Performance (e.g., Generation, Michigan Daily, U of M Glee Club, Soph Show, Homecoming, Winter Weekend, University of Michigan Band)

University Concerns (University Activities Center, Alpha Phi Omega, Wolverine Club, IAESTE)

Honoraries and Recognition (e.g., Mortar Board, Alpha Lambda Delta, Delta Sigma Rho)

Student governing bodies (e.g., Assembly, IQC, IFC, Joint Judiciary Council)

Fraternities, Sororities, Co-ops

Other campus groups and activities

First, could you please list on the following page all of the groups that you belong to now or have ever belonged to at Michigan.

Then, after each group you list, please indicate:

Whether you are currently a member (In Column A)

Your usual pattern of participation (In Column B, using the code at the top of page 5)

Whether you ever were an officer (In Column C)

The year you joined the group (In Column D)

For those groups in which you are no longer a member, the year you left the group (In Column E)

7. (continued)

USE THIS CODE FOR COLUMN B

1. Almost never attended meetings or activities
2. Attended less than 1/4 of the meetings or activities
3. Attended between 1/4 and 1/2 of the meetings or activities
4. Attended between 1/2 and 3/4 of the meetings or activities
5. Attended more than 3/4 of the meetings or activities

CURRENT OR FORMER GROUP MEMBERSHIPS (WRITE GROUP NAMES BELOW)	A Are you currently a member? (CHECK ONE)		B Partici-pation (USE CODE ABOVE)	C Ever an Officer? (CHECK ONE)		D Year Joined	E Year Left
	Yes	No		Yes	No		
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___
____________	☐	☐	__	☐	☐	___	___

8. We are particularly interested in religious and political student organizations. A number of these organizations are listed below. For each of these organizations, please indicate your contact or acquaintance with the group, using the following code.

1. I am currently a member of this group
2. I was a member at one time, but no longer am
3. I was never a member--but I have considered joining this group at some time, and have gone to some of its meetings or activities
4. I was never a member--I never considered joining, but I have gone to some of its meetings or activities
5. I was never a member--I never went to any of its meetings or activities
6. I never heard of this group

___ Alpha Omega (Grace Bible Church)
___ Baptist Student Union
___ Collegiate Club (University Reformed Church)
___ Episcopal Student Foundation
___ Guild House (Campus Ministry)
___ Hillel
___ Michigan Christian Fellowship
___ Newman Student Association
___ Wesley Student Fellowship
___ Young Friends
___ GROUP
___ REACH
___ Viet Nam Steering Committee
___ VOICE
___ YAF (Young Americans for Freedom)
___ Young Democrats
___ Young Republicans
___ YSA (Young Socialist Alliance)

9. Of all the groups you have ever been involved in (those you listed in Q. 7 on page 5), which two would you say have been most important to you during your college years? By "most important" we mean the groups that have had the most meaning for you during your college years--that your contacts and experiences in this group have had the most to do with the changes and developments you feel you've undergone since coming to Michigan. (NOTE: YOU CAN INCLUDE GROUPS YOU NO LONGER BELONG TO AS WELL AS GROUPS YOU ARE CURRENTLY A MEMBER OF.)

PICK OUT THE TWO GROUPS THAT HAVE BEEN MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU, WRITE THEM IN THE SPACES PROVIDED BELOW, AND REFER TO THEM AS GROUP A AND GROUP B IN Q. 10 - 14.

Group A ______________________________

Group B ______________________________

NOTE: IF YOU HAVE NEVER BEEN A MEMBER OF ANY STUDENT GROUP DURING YOUR YEARS AT MICHIGAN, SKIP TO Q. 15 ON PAGE 10.

IF YOU HAVE BEEN A MEMBER OF ONLY ONE GROUP, WRITE IT DOWN AS GROUP A, AND ANSWER Q. 10 THROUGH 14 FOR GROUP A ONLY.

IF YOU HAVE BEEN A MEMBER OF ONLY TWO GROUPS, WRITE THEM DOWN AS GROUPS A AND B, AND ANSWER Q. 10 THROUGH 14 FOR GROUP A AND GROUP B.

10. First, we would like to know how important each of these groups is (was) to you. Think of importance in this way. Suppose you had to leave the group for some reason and could no longer have any contact with it. If that happened, how much would you miss the group--how much loss would you feel?

NOTE: If you are presently a member of the group, answer how important the group is to you now. If you are no longer a member of this group, answer this question as you would have responded during the period you were most involved in the group.

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH GROUP.

	Group A	Group B
This group is (was) of crucial importance to me--it is hard to think of life at Michigan without this group	☐	☐
This group is (was) very important to me--I would miss (would have missed) my contact with this group a great deal	☐	☐
This group is (was) fairly important to me--I would miss (would have missed) my contact with this group to some degree	☐	☐
This group is (was) not really important to me--I would not really miss (have missed) my contact with this group	☐	☐

11. **During all the time of your involvement in this group, is there one period when you were particularly involved?**

CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH GROUP.

	Group A	Group B
Yes	☐	☐
No	☐	☐

(IF YES) When was that? (e.g., present time, first semester of sophomore year, etc.) ______________ ______________

12. **PLEASE REFER NOW TO PAGE ONE OF THIS PART OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, WHERE YOU LISTED YOUR FIVE BEST FRIENDS AT MICHIGAN.**

For _each_ of these five friends, please indicate whether or not this friend was ever a member of Group A. Then, indicate whether each of them was ever a member of Group B.

BE SURE THAT FRIENDS A, B, C, D, AND E REFER TO THE SAME PEOPLE GIVEN THOSE LETTERS ON PAGE 1 OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

	Friend A	Friend B	Friend C	Friend D	Friend E
a. Was this friend ever a member of _Group A_? (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH FRIEND)					
Yes, is a member now	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Yes, was a member, but is not one now	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
No, never was a member	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. Was this friend ever a member of _Group B_? (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH FRIEND)					
Yes, is a member now	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Yes, was a member, but is not one now	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
No, never was a member	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

13. **You chose these two groups as being the most important to you in terms of your change or development here at the University. For each of them, could you say in what ways specifically these groups have been important for your change or development?**

Group A:

Group B:

QUESTION 14 IS ONLY FOR THOSE GROUPS THAT YOU ARE NOT NOW A MEMBER OF.

IF YOU ARE CURRENTLY A MEMBER OF BOTH GROUP A AND GROUP B, SKIP TO Q. 15 ON PAGE 10.

14. **Why did you leave the group? (PLEASE BE SPECIFIC--e.g., IF YOUR INTERESTS CHANGED, INDICATE IN WHAT WAYS THEY CHANGED AND WHY THIS WAS IMPORTANT IN YOUR LEAVING THE GROUP)**

Reasons for leaving Group A

Reasons for leaving Group B

FOR EVERYONE

15. Do you belong to any voluntary associations that are not a University extra-curricular organization? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes

☐ No

(IF YES) Please list them here. ____________________________

____

____

____

____

16. We have asked you about your membership and participation in formal groups and activities. How about organizational activity not part of a formal student organization--such activities as working on a Homecoming committee, taking part in a service project, involvement in a Civil Rights demonstration, support of or protest against our policy in Viet Nam. Have you been involved in any of these kinds of group activities that have been meaningful or important to you in any way during your years at Michigan? (PLEASE LIST THEM BELOW)

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

17. Now, we'd like you to think not of your friends and groups but of the total Michigan student body. Any group as large as the Michigan student body contains smaller sets of people who share certain interests, attitudes, or values. Below are some of the kinds of students that have been mentioned frequently.

A. The intellectual students, those who may not get good grades but are involved in the world of books and ideas

B. The partying types, the students who are most concerned about having a good time

C. The creative, perhaps non-conformist students

D. The students who belong to religious, ethnic, or nationality groups

E. The athletes

F. The students who are most concerned about a particular field or occupation

G. The students who are most concerned about social and political issues on a national or international scale

H. The students who are most concerned about studying, keeping up with course work, getting good grades

I. The students who are most concerned about campus issues and events

J. The casual type students, the ordinary, average types

QUESTIONS 17a THROUGH 17e ARE ABOUT THESE KINDS OF STUDENTS. IN ANSWERING, REFER TO THESE DIFFERENT STUDENTS BY THE LETTERS "A" THROUGH "J".

17a. Which of these kinds of students do you feel you are most similar to? (INDICATE BY WRITING IN THE APPROPRIATE LETTERS) If you feel you are equally similar to two or more of these, write in the letters of each one. If you feel you are not really like any of them, please indicate why you feel this way.

____

____

____

17b. Which of these kinds of students would you never want to be identified with? (WRITE IN LETTERS BELOW)

____

17c. Are there any of these kinds of students that you wish you were more like?

☐ Yes (PLEASE SPECIFY WHICH, BY LETTERS) ____________________

☐ No

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

17. (continued)

17d. Please refer to the five best friends listed on Page 1 of this questionnaire. Which of the kinds of students listed on page 11 are each of your friends most similar to? (YOU CAN WRITE IN MORE THAN ONE LETTER FOR EACH OF YOUR FRIENDS)

	Most similar to
Friend A	
Friend B	
Friend C	
Friend D	
Friend E	

17e. Turn back to Question 9 on page 7 where you listed the two student groups you felt were most important to you in your years at Michigan. Which of the kinds of students listed on page 16 are each of your two groups most similar to? (YOU CAN WRITE IN MORE THAN ONE LETTER FOR EACH OF THE TWO GROUPS)

Important Student Groups	Most similar to
Group A	
Group B	

FAMILY AND OTHER BACKGROUND INFORMATION

18. How often do you write your parents on the average? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Every day or almost every day
☐ About two or three times a week
☐ About once a week
☐ Every 2 or 3 weeks
☐ About once a month
☐ Less than once a month

19. How often do you call your parents on the average? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Every day or almost every day
☐ About two or three times a week
☐ About once a week
☐ Every 2 or 3 weeks
☐ About once a month
☐ Less than once a month

20. **How often do you see your parents?**

☐ **About once a week or more often**
☐ **About once or twice a month**
☐ **During holidays and an occasional weekend**
☐ **Only during holidays**
☐ **Only during summer vacation**
☐ **Not at all**

21. **We would like to know in what ways you feel you are like your parents.**

a. List one or two ways in which you feel you are like your father.

____
____
____
____

b. List one or two ways in which you feel you are like your mother.

____
____
____
____

22. **Which of your parents do you feel you are most like? (CHECK ONE)**

☐ **My father**
☐ **My mother**

23. **How well do you feel your parents understand you and what you want out of life? (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR FATHER AND ONE FOR MOTHER)**

	Father	**Mother**
Very well	☐	☐
Fairly well	☐	☐
Not too well	☐	☐
Not at all	☐	☐
Parent deceased	☐	☐

24. How close do you feel to your mother and to your father? (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR FATHER AND ONE FOR MOTHER)

	Father	Mother
Extremely close	☐	☐
Quite close	☐	☐
Fairly close	☐	☐
Not very close	☐	☐
Parent deceased	☐	☐

25. Most people have some disagreement with their parents about some things. How much do you feel you disagree with your parents about the following matters?

Use the following symbols in responding to the items in this question.

0 means "little or no disagreement about this"

1 means "some disagreement about this"

2 means "a good deal of disagreement about this"

In every case, please respond in terms of how you feel about the matter, regardless of whether or not agreement or disagreement has been openly expressed. Answer each item for both father and mother.

	With Father	With Mother
Values about what's important in life	___	___
Political preferences and beliefs	___	___
Religious beliefs	___	___
My vocational plans	___	___
The people I've dated	___	___
My choice of friends	___	___
Goals or purposes of a college education	___	___
Interests and taste in books, music, art	___	___
NOTE: CHECK HERE IF PARENT IS DECEASED	___	___

26. Are any of these disagreements with your parents things that have developed since you came to Michigan--differences that are due to ways you have changed during your years at Michigan?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(IF YES) 26a. What are some of these important disagreements with your parents that have developed during your years at Michigan? (PLEASE BE SPECIFIC AS TO HOW YOUR VIEWS HAVE CHANGED AND IN WHAT WAYS THEY DIFFER FROM THOSE OF YOUR PARENTS)

____

____

____

____

SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR BACKGROUND --

27. How old are you? _____ years and _____ months

28. Check whether you are Male ☐ or Female ☐

29. How many older brothers do you have? _______

30. How many younger brothers do you have? _____

31. How many older sisters do you have? _______

32. How many younger sisters do you have? _____

33. Check one of the following places which best describes the place where you lived most of your life.

☐ Suburb in a metropolitan area of more than 2,000,000 population
☐ Suburb in a metropolitan area of 500,000 to 2,000,000
☐ Suburb in a metropolitan area of 100,000 to 500,000
☐ In a city (not a suburb) of more than 2,000,000
☐ In a city of 500,000 to 2,000,000
☐ In a city of 200,000 to 500,000
☐ In a city of 50,000 to 200,000
☐ City or town of 10,000 to 50,000
☐ Town of less than 10,000
☐ Farm, ranch or other open country

34. Which of the following best describes the distance between Ann Arbor and the place where your parents now live? (CHECK ONE)

☐ In Ann Arbor or within commuting distance
☐ Within 2 hours automobile drive or less
☐ Between 2 to 4 hours automobile drive
☐ More than 4 hours drive, but in the same state
☐ More than 4 hours drive, but in a different state
☐ Other (SPECIFY) ____________________

35. About how many students were there in your high school graduating class? (CHECK ONE)

☐ 49 or less
☐ 50 - 99
☐ 100 - 149
☐ 150 - 199
☐ 200 - 299
☐ 300 - 399
☐ 400 - 499
☐ 500 - 599
☐ 600 or more

36. In what town or city was this high school located?

____________ (town or city) ____________ (state) ____________ (country, if foreign)

37. What is your family's religious background? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Both parents Protestant
☐ Both parents Roman Catholic
☐ Both parents Jewish
☐ Both parents Eastern Orthodox
☐ Mixed (SPECIFY: Father ____________
Mother ____________)
☐ Anything not covered above: Father ____________
Mother ____________

38. What is your present religious preference? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Protestant (PLEASE SPECIFY DENOMINATION) ______________________
☐ Catholic
☐ Jewish
☐ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) ______________________
☐ None

39. Was this the religion in which you were reared?

☐ Yes (SKIP TO Q. 40)
☐ No (ANSWER Q. 39a-39c)

(IF NO) 39a. In what religion were you reared? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Protestant (PLEASE SPECIFY DENOMINATION) ____________
☐ Catholic
☐ Jewish
☐ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) ______________
☐ None

39b. When did you change your religious preference? (CHECK ONE)

☐ The past year or two
☐ During my years at Michigan, but more than 2 years ago
☐ During my high school years
☐ Before my high school years

39c. What were some of the reasons for your change?

____
____
____
____

40. How often do you attend religious services here at Michigan? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Once a week or more
☐ Two or three times a month
☐ Once a month
☐ A few times a year
☐ Rarely
☐ Never

41. Do you think of yourself as more religious, about as religious, or less religious than your parents? (CHECK ONE FOR EACH PARENT)

	Father	Mother
I am more religious than	☐	☐
I am about as religious as	☐	☐
I am less religious than	☐	☐
Parent deceased	☐	☐

42. Which of the following statements of faith most closely describes your ideas about the Deity? (CHECK ONE)

☐ I believe in a Divine God, Creator of the Universe, Who knows my innermost thoughts and feelings, and to Whom one day I shall be accountable

☐ I believe in a power greater than myself, which some people call God and some people call nature

☐ I believe in the worth of humanity but not in a God or Supreme Being

☐ I believe in natural law and that the so-called universal mysteries are ultimately knowable according to scientific method

☐ I am an atheist or agnostic

☐ I am not quite sure what I believe

☐ Other (SPECIFY) ______________________

43. How far did you parents go in school? (CHECK ONE FOR EACH PARENT)

Father	Mother	
☐	☐	Less than high school
☐	☐	Some high school (9 - 11 years)
☐	☐	Completed high school (12 years)
☐	☐	Some college
☐	☐	Completed college
☐	☐	Advanced or Professional degree

44. What is your father's occupation (or, if he is retired or deceased, what was it before)? Kindly give a full answer, such as "high school chemistry teacher", "welder in an aircraft factory", "president of a small automobile agency", "manager of a large department store".

____

____

____

____

45. Is your father a member of a trade union?

☐ Yes

☐ No

46. Does your father work for himself or for someone else?

☐ For himself

☐ For someone else

47. At the present time, does your mother have a paying job outside the home? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes, full time

☐ Yes, part time

☐ No

(IF YES) Name and describe the occupation in which she works. (PLEASE GIVE A FULL ANSWER)

____

____

48. Roughly speaking, about how many years of her married life has your mother had a paying job outside the home? ____ years

49. About how much total income do your parents earn yearly at the present time? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Less than $3,999

☐ $4,000 to $7,499

☐ $7,500 to $9,999

☐ $10,000 to $14,999

☐ $15,000 to $19,999

☐ $20,000 and over

How certain are you about this income? (CHECK ONE)

☐ I am quite certain about it

☐ I know it approximately

☐ I'm mostly guessing

50. Were you regularly employed during this academic year? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

☐ No

Yes --

☐ Full time job which is relevant to my anticipated career field
☐ Full time job which has nothing to do with my anticipated career field
☐ Part time job which is relevant to my anticipated career field
☐ Part time job which has nothing to do with my anticipated career field

51. About how much are each of the sources below contributing to the costs of your education (including living expenses) this year? (CHECK ONE FOR EACH SOURCE)

	All or nearly all	More than half	About half	Less than half	None
Parents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wife or husband	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Job, part-time work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Savings from summer job or other previous work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Scholarship	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Loan(s)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

52. Are your parents --

☐ Living together (GO TO Q. 53)
☐ Divorced, separated
☐ Father deceased
☐ Mother deceased
☐ Both parents deceased

(ANSWER QUESTIONS 52a and 52b)

52a. How old were you when your parents were separated (divorce, death, etc.) (CHECK ONE)

☐ Less than 5 years old
☐ 5 to 9 years old
☐ 10 to 14 years old
☐ 15 or older

52b. After your parents were separated, with which parent did you make your home? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Entirely or mostly with father
☐ Entirely or mostly with mother
☐ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) ______________________________

____

53. What school or college are you enrolled in? ______________________

54. In what year did you first enroll at Michigan? ______

55. Did you do all of your college work at Michigan? (CHECK ONE)

☐ Yes

☐ No, transferred from some other school (PLEASE SPECIFY NAME OF SCHOOL) ______________________

☐ No, started here, attended a year or more elsewhere, and then returned (PLEASE SPECIFY NAME OF SCHOOL) ______________________

56. Did you ever consider dropping out of Michigan?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(IF YES) When did you consider it (e.g., 2nd semester of freshman year) ______________________

Why did you consider dropping out? (PLEASE SPECIFY REASONS--E.G., NOT JUST THAT YOU DID NOT LIKE IT AT MICHIGAN BUT WHY YOU DIDN'T LIKE IT) ______________________

____

____

____

____

57. Were you ever on academic probation at Michigan?

☐ Yes

☐ No

(IF YES) When was that? ______________________

During the fall term there were a number of issues that elicited a great deal of interest on this campus--issues that have been discussed by students, faculty groups, the administration, the Daily, etc. The following questions concern these issues and events.

58. To what extent did you participate in the student meetings or other events connected with these issues? (CHECK ALL THAT YOU DID)

☐ Voted in the referendum on student ranking
☐ Attended the first all-campus meeting in the Union Ballroom
☐ Attended one of the teach-ins in Hill Auditorium or Angell Hall
☐ Participated in one of the sit-ins at the Administration Building
☐ Attended one of the campus rallies
☐ Other (please specify)____________________________
☐ Did not participate in any of these

59. How much interest would you say you had in these issues and the events surrounding them this fall? (CHECK ONE)

☐ A great deal
☐ A moderate amount
☐ Only a little
☐ None at all

60. How about your friends here at the University? How much interest would you say they had in these issues and events? (CHECK ONE)

☐ A great deal
☐ A moderate amount
☐ Only a little
☐ None at all

61. What do you think the major issues were? What conditions have been the focus of the discussion and concern? (At this point we are not asking whether you approve or disapprove--just how you define what the issues were.)

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

61b. Of the issues you listed above, which one do you feel is most important?

____

____

____

61c. How would you like to see this issue resolved? What would you like to see happen at the University?

____

____

____

____

____

62. Following are some of the incidents or actions that were part of the recent events. Please indicate your feeling about each of these incidents or actions. (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH INCIDENT)

	Strongly Approve	Approve	Indif- ferent	Dis- approve	Strongly Disapprove	I know Nothing About This
a. The University administration's response to the request from the House Un-American Activities Committee	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. The Student Government Council's decision to dis-associate from the Office of Student Affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. The proposal by some faculty members not to turn in grades because they are used for ranking (unless requested otherwise by students)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

62. (Cont)

	Strongly Approve	Approve	Indifferent	Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	I know Nothing About This
d. The statement by Student Government Council and other student groups that the results of the student referendum on ranking should be binding on the University	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. The announcement by the University administration banning student sit-ins	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. President Hatcher's and others' statement which set up committees to deal with the issues raised by the students and faculty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. The student sit-in at the Administration Building lobby and halls	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

63. Regardless of whether you approve or disapprove of their position, how effective do you think each of the participants in the above incidents or actions was? (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR EACH SET OF PARTICIPANTS)

	Very Effective	Effective	Ineffective	Very ineffective	I don't Know how effective they were
a. THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION: Response to the request from the House Un-American Activities Committee	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. THE STUDENT GOVERNMENT COUNCIL: Decision to disassociate from the Office of Student Affairs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

63. (Cont)

	Very Effective	Effective	In-effective	Very in-effective	I don't know how effective they were
c. **SOME FACULTY:** Proposal not to turn in grades because they are used for ranking (unless requested otherwise by students)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. **THE STUDENT GOVERNMENT COUNCIL AND OTHER STUDENT GROUPS:** Statement that the results of the student referendum on ranking should be binding on the University	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. **THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION:** Announcement banning student sit-ins	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. **THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION:** Statement which set up committees to deal with the issues raised by the students and faculty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. **STUDENTS WHO SAT IN:** At the Administration Building lobby and halls	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

64. One of the issues that was discussed in the recent events is the question of more student control within the University. Some students feel this is a very important issue, others are unconcerned. We would like to know how important you feel this issue is. We would also like to know whether your feelings have changed because of the events of the past fall. Please check how you feel now and how you felt before the events of last fall. (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR NOW AND ONE FOR BEFORE)

	How I Feel Now	How I Felt Before
The issue of student control is very important to me	☐	☐
The issue is fairly important	☐	☐
The issue is not too important	☐	☐
The issue is not at all important	☐	☐

65. How much control do you think students actually have within the University? Please check again how you feel about this now and how you felt before the events of last fall. (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR NOW AND ONE FOR BEFORE)

	How I Feel Now	How I Felt Before
Students have a great deal of control within the University	☐	☐
Students have quite a bit of control within the University	☐	☐
Students don't have much control within the University	☐	☐
Students don't have any control within the University	☐	☐

66. What do you feel should happen with respect to the issue of student control? Again, please check how you feel about this now and how you felt before the events of last fall. (CHECK ONE ALTERNATIVE FOR NOW AND ONE FOR BEFORE)

	How I Feel Now	How I Felt Before
Students should have much more control within the University	☐	☐
Students should have somewhat more control	☐	☐
Students should have about the same control they now have	☐	☐
Students should have less control than they now have	☐	☐

67. All in all, what do you think will be the long-term effects of the concern with greater student control at the University? (CHECK ONE)

☐ These events will have some major long-term effects at the University; a number of changes will occur

☐ These events will have some minor long-term effects at the University; a few changes will occur

☐ These events will have no long-term effects at the University; things will go back to the way they were

(IF YOU THINK THERE WILL BE ANY EFFECTS)

67a. What do you think some of these effects will be?

____

____

____

____

68. Have there been any effects on you as a result of all these events at the University--any important changes in your view of the University or of the people and issues that were involved? (PLEASE INDICATE WHAT THESE EFFECTS OR CHANGES WERE; IF NO EFFECTS, WRITE IN "NONE")

____

____

____

____

69. One of the events of the past months was the student referendum on ranking. Following is the ballot that was used in the referendum. Please indicate how you voted. If you did not vote, please indicate how you would have voted.

Part One

☐ The University should cease the compilation of class ranks to be used by the Selective Service

☐ The University should continue the compilation of class ranks to be used by the Selective Service

Part Two

A. Regarding drafting of men into the armed forces, I would prefer that:

- ☐ 1. All able-bodied males must serve
- ☐ 2. Only some able-bodied males randomly selected by lottery must serve, with no deferments granted
- ☐ 3. Only some able-bodied males, chosen on a selective basis, must serve, with deferments granted for: (If this is your choice, select one or more of the below)
  - ☐ a. critical skills
  - ☐ b. completion of education
  - ☐ c. all married men
  - ☐ d. only married men with children
  - ☐ e. Other (specify)____________________
- ☐ 4. The government should not conscript for military or nonmilitary service. (If you choose this alternative DO NOT answer B)

B. I prefer a system in which all those chosen:

- ☐ Should serve in the armed forces
- ☐ Should be able to serve in the armed forces or have forms of alternative government approved service open to them in lieu of serving in the armed forces.

COLLEGE STUDENT ATTITUDE INVENTORY

This last set of questions is a questionnaire that has been given to students in a large number of universities and colleges all over the country. It covers college students' attitudes and opinions in a number of different areas.

Several of these questions overlap somewhat with those we have already asked you. They are included so as to permit us to make direct comparisons with students in other universities.

Read each of the numbered statements that follow and decide whether it is true as applied to you or false as applied to you.

> If a statement is TRUE or MOSTLY TRUE for you, check the box under T. If a statement is FALSE or NOT USUALLY TRUE for you, check the box under F.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS. WORK RAPIDLY.

	T	F
1. I enjoy listening to poetry.	☐	☐
2. I pray several times a week.	☐	☐
3. I prefer to engage in activities from which I can see definite results rather than those from which no tangible or objective results are apparent.	☐	☐
4. I dislike assignments requiring original research work.	☐	☐
5. If several people find themselves in trouble, the best thing for them to do is to agree upon a story and stick to it.	☐	☐
6. Society puts too much restraint on the individual.	☐	☐
7. After a class period I think about the ideas presented there.	☐	☐
8. I like dramatics.	☐	☐
9. God hears our prayers.	☐	☐
10. Politically I am probably something of a radical.	☐	☐
11. I enjoy solving problems of the type found in geometry, philosophy, or logic.	☐	☐
12. I have often either broken rules (school, club, etc.) or inwardly rebelled against them.	☐	☐
13. The trouble with many people is that they don't take things seriously enough.	☐	☐
14. I analyze what I like or dislike about a movie or play which I have seen.	☐	☐
15. Colored lights sometimes arouse feelings of excitement in me.	☐	☐
16. There must be something wrong with a person who is lacking in religious feeling.	☐	☐
17. If I were a university professor and had the necessary ability, I would prefer to teach chemistry and physics rather than poetry.	☐	☐
18. I find that a well-ordered mode of life with regular hours is not congenial to my temperament.	☐	☐
19. Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of losing contact with your family.	☐	☐
20. I like to discuss the values of life, such as what makes an act good or evil.	☐	☐
21. I like modern art.	☐	☐

(GO ON TO NEXT PAGE)

		T	F
22.	Every person should have complete faith in a super-natural power whose decisions he obeys without question.	☐	☐
23.	I like to go alone to visit new and strange places.	☐	☐
24.	The artist and professor are probably more important to society than the businessman and the manufacturer.	☐	☐
25.	At times I have very much wanted to leave home.	☐	☐
26.	I prefer people who are never profane.	☐	☐
27.	I like to listen to primitive music.	☐	☐
28.	Organized religion, while sincere and constructive in its aims, is really an obstacle to human progress.	☐	☐
29.	I dislike following a set schedule.	☐	☐
30.	I have frequently found myself, when alone, pondering such abstract problems as free will, evil, etc.	☐	☐
31.	I have always had goals and ambitions that were impractical or that seemed incapable of being realized.	☐	☐
32.	Communism is the most hateful thing in the world today.	☐	☐
33.	I like to read serious, philosophical poetry.	☐	☐
34.	I enjoy looking at paintings, sculpture, and architecture.	☐	☐
35.	We cannot know for sure whether or not there is a God.	☐	☐
36.	For most questions there is just one right answer, once a person is able to get all the facts.	☐	☐
37.	I would like to enter a profession which requires much original thinking.	☐	☐
38.	A person who lets himself get tricked has no one but himself to blame.	☐	☐
39.	We should respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did.	☐	☐
40.	I have always hated regulations.	☐	☐
41.	I like to write my reactions to and criticisms of a given philosophy or point of view.	☐	☐
42.	I would like to be an actor on the stage or in the movies.	☐	☐
43.	I go to church or temple almost every week.	☐	☐
44.	I like to discuss philosophical problems.	☐	☐

(GO ON TO NEXT PAGE)

	T	F
45. At times I have a strong urge to do something harmful or shocking.	☐	☐
46. Every wage earner should be required to save a certain part of his income each month so that he will be able to support himself and his family in later years.	☐	☐
47. The prophets of the Old Testament predicted the events that are happening today.	☐	☐
48. I like to fool around with new ideas, even if they turn out later to have been a total waste of time.	☐	☐
49. It is highly unlikely that astrology will ever be able to explain anything.	☐	☐
50. I would enjoy fame (not mere notoriety).	☐	☐
51. It is better never to expect much; in that way you are rarely disappointed.	☐	☐
52. When I go to a strange city I visit museums.	☐	☐
53. I am more sensitive than most people.	☐	☐
54. The only meaning to existence is the one which man gives himself.	☐	☐
55. I am more interested in the application of principles and theories than in the critical consideration of them.	☐	☐
56. When I get bored I like to stir up some excitement.	☐	☐
57. Unquestioning obedience is not a virtue.	☐	☐
58. I enjoy spending leisure time in writing poetry, plays, stories, or essays.	☐	☐
59. Every person ought to be a booster for his own home town.	☐	☐
60. As a youngster I acquired a strong interest in intellectual and aesthetic matters.	☐	☐
61. I believe in a life hereafter.	☐	☐
62. Trends towards abstractionism and the distortion of reality have corrupted much art of recent years.	☐	☐
63. My free time is usually filled up by social demands.	☐	☐
64. I have been disappointed in love.	☐	☐
65. The surest way to a peaceful world is to improve people's morals.	☐	☐
66. I analyze the motives of others and compare their reactions with my own.	☐	☐
67. I tend to make friends with men who are rather sensitive and artistic.	☐	☐

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	T	F
68. I believe there is a God.	☐	☐
69. I much prefer friends who are pleasant to have around rather than those who are always involved in some difficult problem.	☐	☐
70. I prefer to have a principle or theory explained to me rather than attempting to understand it on my own.	☐	☐
71. I like to flirt.	☐	☐
72. It is a pretty callous person who does not feel love and gratitude toward his parents.	☐	☐
73. I like to do work which requires little study or thought after it is once learned.	☐	☐
74. I enjoy hearing a great singer in an opera.	☐	☐
75. In religious matters I believe I would have to be called a skeptic or an agnostic.	☐	☐
76. Usually I prefer known ways of doing things rather than trying out new ways.	☐	☐
77. I like assignments which require me to draw my own conclusions from some data or body of facts.	☐	☐
78. At times I feel like picking a fist fight with someone.	☐	☐
79. I never attend a sexy show if I can avoid it.	☐	☐
80. My conversations with friends usually deal with such subjects as mutual acquaintances and social activities.	☐	☐
81. I have spent a lot of time listening to serious music.	☐	☐
82. I would prefer to hear a series of lectures on the comparative merits of forms of government rather than the comparative development of the great religious faiths.	☐	☐
83. I much enjoy thinking about some problem which is a challenge to the experts.	☐	☐
84. No man of character would ask his fiancee to have sexual intercourse with him before marriage.	☐	☐
85. I study and analyze my own motives and reactions.	☐	☐
86. I enjoy reading Shakespeare's plays.	☐	☐
87. I expect that ultimately mathematics will prove more important for mankind than theology.	☐	☐
88. It is a good rule to accept nothing as certain or proved.	☐	☐
89. I dominate many of my acquaintances of about my own age.	☐	☐

(GO ON TO NEXT PAGE)

	T	F
90. Parents are much too easy on their children nowadays.	☐	☐
91. I like short, factual questions in an examination better than questions which require the organization and interpretation of a large body of material.	☐	☐
92. Much of my life I've dreamed about having enough time to paint or sculpture.	☐	☐
93. In matters of religion it really does not matter what one believes.	☐	☐
94. Many of my friends would probably be considered unconventional by other people.	☐	☐
95. At an exposition I like to go where I can see scientific apparatus rather than new manufactured products.	☐	☐
96. I enjoy betting on horse races.	☐	☐
97. In most ways the poor man is better off than the rich man.	☐	☐
98. I enjoy thinking of new examples to illustrate general rules and principles.	☐	☐
99. I would like to collect prints of paintings which I personally enjoy.	☐	☐
100. Each person should interpret the Bible for himself.	☐	☐
101. I don't like things to be uncertain and unpredictable.	☐	☐
102. I prefer the practical man any time to the man of ideas.	☐	☐
103. I like to work late at night.	☐	☐
104. I have been inspired to a way of life based on duty which I have carefully followed.	☐	☐
105. I am uninterested in discussions of the ideal society or Utopia.	☐	☐
106. I am fascinated by the way sunlight changes the appearance of objects and scenes.	☐	☐
107. I generally prefer being with people who are not religious.	☐	☐
108. Facts appeal to me more than ideas.	☐	☐
109. I like to imagine what is inside objects.	☐	☐
110. I always see to it that my work is carefully planned and organized.	☐	☐
111. I am in favor of strict enforcement of all laws, no matter what the consequences.	☐	☐
112. I discuss the causes and possible solutions of social, political, economic, or international problems.	☐	☐

(GO ON TO NEXT PAGE)

	T	F
113. I think I feel more intensely than most people do.	☐	☐
114. Religion should be primarily a social force or institution.	☐	☐
115. My way of doing things is apt to be misunderstood by others.	☐	☐
116. I want to know that something will really work before I am willing to take a chance on it.	☐	☐
117. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.	☐	☐
118. I read a great deal even when it is not required in my work.	☐	☐
119. I am embarrassed by dirty stories.	☐	☐
120. More than anything else, it is good hard work that makes life worthwhile.	☐	☐
121. I prefer a long, rather involved problem to several shorter ones.	☐	☐
122. Sometimes I find myself "studying" advertisements in order to discover something interesting in them.	☐	☐
123. Institutionalized religion is not necessary for the maintenance of a relationship with God.	☐	☐
124. I have had strange and peculiar thoughts.	☐	☐
125. I would enjoy writing a paper on the possible long-term effects or outcomes of a significant research discovery.	☐	☐
126. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.	☐	☐
127. Kindness and generosity are the most important qualities for a wife to have.	☐	☐
128. I react to new ideas which I hear or read about by analyzing them to see if they fit in with my own point of view.	☐	☐
129. I like to read about artistic or literary achievement.	☐	☐
130. It doesn't matter to me what church a man belongs to, or whether or not he belongs to a church at all.	☐	☐
131. I like to have a place for everything and everything in its place.	☐	☐
132. The main object of scientific research should be the discovery of truth rather than its practical applications.	☐	☐
133. I believe women ought to have as much sexual freedom as men.	☐	☐
134. My home life was always happy.	☐	☐
135. I prefer to carry out an activity or job rather than to do the planning for it.	☐	☐

(GO ON TO NEXT PAGE)

		T	F
136.	I have at one time or another in my life tried my hand at writing poetry.	☐	☐
137.	I frequently have serious doubts about my religious beliefs.	☐	☐
138.	Some of my friends think that my ideas are impractical, if not a bit wild.	☐	☐
139.	Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.	☐	☐
140.	I would like to hunt lions in Africa.	☐	☐
141.	In the final analysis, parents generally turn out to be right about things.	☐	☐
142.	I am unable to explain the reasons for my opinions and reactions.	☐	☐
143.	I am interested in the historical changes and developments in American jazz.	☐	☐
144.	I would consider it more important for my child to secure training in athletics than in religion.	☐	☐
145.	I don't like to work on a problem unless there is the possibility of coming out with a clear-cut and unambiguous answer.	☐	☐
146.	I don't care much for scientific or mathematical articles.	☐	☐
147.	I often do whatever makes me feel cheerful here and now, even at the cost of some distant goal.	☐	☐
148.	I should like to belong to several clubs or lodges.	☐	☐
149.	I read articles or books that deal with new theories and points of view within my field of interest.	☐	☐
150.	Courses in literature and poetry have been as satisfying to me as most other subjects.	☐	☐
151.	My church, faith, or denomination has the only true approach to God.	☐	☐
152.	The unfinished and the imperfect often have greater appeal for me than the completed and the polished.	☐	☐
153.	I dislike mathematics.	☐	☐
154.	Something exciting will almost always pull me out of it when I am feeling low.	☐	☐
155.	The most important qualities of a husband are determination and ambition.	☐	☐
156.	I would enjoy studying the causes of an important national or international event and writing a paper on these causes.	☐	☐

(GO ON TO NEXT PAGE)

	T	F
157. I think I take primarily an aesthetic view of experience.	☐	☐
158. When science contradicts religion it is because of scientific hypotheses that have not and cannot be tested.	☐	☐
159. Perfect balance is the essence of all good composition.	☐	☐
160. I like to read about science.	☐	☐
161. Once a week or oftener I become very excited.	☐	☐
162. I dislike women who disregard the usual social or moral conventions.	☐	☐
163. I have difficulty in imagining the reaction of a person of another period, race, or country, to a given situation or environment.	☐	☐
164. I believe in the worth of humanity but not in God.	☐	☐
165. I don't like to undertake any project unless I have a pretty good idea how it will turn out.	☐	☐
166. I like to look for faulty reasoning in an argument.	☐	☐
167. I have sometimes wanted to run away from home.	☐	☐
168. Only a fool would try to change our American way of life.	☐	☐
169. I like work requiring considerable physical activity.	☐	☐
170. I have read little or none of the Bible.	☐	☐
171. I have had very peculiar and strange experiences.	☐	☐
172. It puzzles me why some people will so avidly read and discuss science fiction.	☐	☐
173. I have never done any heavy drinking.	☐	☐
174. Divorce is often justified.	☐	☐
175. I would enjoy writing a paper explaining a theory and presenting the arguments for and against it.	☐	☐
176. One needs to be wary of those persons who claim not to believe in God.	☐	☐
177. It doesn't bother me when things are uncertain and unpredictable.	☐	☐
178. I would rather read about the lives and works of men such as Alexander, Julius Caesar, and Charlemagne than about Aristotle, Socrates, and Kant.	☐	☐
179. I have often gone against my parents' wishes.	☐	☐
180. Disobedience to the government is sometimes justified.	☐	☐
181. I prefer to work with others rather than alone.	☐	☐

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		T	F
182.	I am more religious than most people.	☐	☐
183.	It is hard for me to work intently on a scholarly problem for more than an hour or two at a stretch.	☐	☐
184.	In school I was sometimes sent to the principal for cutting up.	☐	☐
185.	Nothing about communism is any good.	☐	☐
186.	I am tantalized by a question or problem until I can think through to an answer satisfactory to myself.	☐	☐
187.	When it comes to differences of opinion in religion we should be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently than we do.	☐	☐
188.	When I sit down to study it is hard to keep my mind on the material.	☐	☐
189.	I like to talk about sex.	☐	☐
190.	There is nothing wrong with the idea of intermarriage between different races.	☐	☐
191.	I enjoy listening to debates and discussions on social, economic, or political problems.	☐	☐
192.	Science should have as much to say about moral values as religion does.	☐	☐
193.	I tend to ignore the feelings of others when accomplishing some end that is very important to me.	☐	☐
194.	Nothing about fascism is any good.	☐	☐
195.	I think about the values and meanings of a college education.	☐	☐
196.	The idea of doing research does not appeal to me.	☐	☐
197.	When a man is with a woman he is usually thinking about things related to her sex.	☐	☐
198.	It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about.	☐	☐
199.	I enjoy a thought-provoking lecture.	☐	☐
200.	I think I would like to drive a racing car.	☐	☐
201.	If you start trying to change things very much you usually make them worse.	☐	☐
202.	I am aroused by a speaker's description of unfortunate conditions in a locality or country.	☐	☐
203.	The "facts" of nature depend entirely upon the rules of observation.	☐	☐

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	T	F
204. People ought to be satisfied with what they have.	☐	☐
205. I dislike having others deliberate and hesitate before acting.	☐	☐
206. Many of my dreams are about sex.	☐	☐

PLEASE RETURN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH,
426 THOMPSON STREET, ROOM 4006
ANY TIME MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY FROM
BETWEEN 8:30 TO 12:00 OR 1:00 TO 5:00.

WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU AGAIN FOR
PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY.